

PUBLISHED MONTHLY

PRICE TWENTY CENTS

# BULLETIN OF THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

VOLUME XXVIII

NEW YORK, NOVEMBER, 1933

NUMBER 11



ABRAHAM'S SACRIFICE OF ISAAC, TURKISH, XVI CENTURY  
LOAN EXHIBITION OF ISLAMIC MINIATURE PAINTING

NOVEMBER ISSUE IN TWO SECTIONS  
SECTION I

# BULLETIN OF THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

NOVEMBER, 1933

VOLUME XXVIII, NUMBER 11

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Published monthly under the direction of the Secretary of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fifth Avenue and Eighty-second Street, New York, N. Y.; Winifred E. Howe, Editor.

Sent to all Members of the Museum without charge; to others upon receipt of the subscription price, two dollars a year, single copies twenty cents. Copies are for sale and subscriptions are taken at the Information Desk. Mail orders should be addressed to the Secretary of the Museum.

Entered as Second Class Matter June 3, 1927, at the Post Office, New York, N. Y., under Act of August 24, 1912.

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## REPORTS OF THE MUSEUM EXPEDITIONS

Section II of this issue of the BULLETIN contains the reports of the work of the Egyptian Expedition at Lisht and of the Persian Expedition near Shīrāz during the season 1932-1933.

## JOSEPH BRECK 1885-1933

At a meeting of the Board of Trustees held September 21, 1933, the following memorial resolution was adopted:

The passing of Joseph Breck, who had been a member of the staff of the Museum since 1909, its Assistant Director since 1917, and Director of The Cloisters since 1932, brings to the Trustees of The Metropolitan Museum of Art a keen sense of the loss they have sustained through the severance of his association with them, and through the withdrawal from their service of one who for so long a time had given himself wholeheartedly to the upbuilding of the Museum. Unsparing of his abilities, which from his first coming as a young man had been molded upon the requirements of the Museum needs, Mr. Breck had taken a large and important part in the development of the collections confided to his care during the most auspicious period of the Museum history, the era of unparalleled acquisition of objects of art. This part he performed with constant zeal and conspicuous accomplishment.

The Trustees desire to place on record their grateful appreciation of the importance of this service rendered to the Museum by Mr. Breck; and not alone to The Metropolitan Museum of Art but, through the extension of its influence, to museums everywhere. They wish to set down for remembrance the loss suffered through the going of the man himself, the friend of the Museum as well as the able, effective scholar.

## CHANGES IN THE DEPARTMENT OF DECORATIVE ARTS

Of recent years the Department of Decorative Arts has grown enormously, and two years ago its curator, Joseph Breck, recommended to the Trustees that the collections of Near Eastern art, up to that time under his charge, should be made into a separate department under Dr. M. S. Dimand. Since Mr. Breck's death in August last, deep con-

sideration has been given to further division of the Department of Decorative Arts along lines which he had himself discussed.

In the field of European art, the collections obviously would be benefited by more detailed specialization than a single curator could give them, and at the meeting of the Board of Trustees on October 16 it was decided to divide the European collections into a Department of Mediaeval Art—of which The Cloisters collection forms an important part—and a Department of Renaissance and Modern Art. The first of these two departments covers the period starting with the profound change which took place with the adoption of Christianity, and the second the period starting with that equally important event in art history, the Renaissance. The actual date of the dividing line between the two departments varies, of course, from land to land, as the new learning and the new art slowly made their way across Europe.

The American Wing, constituted as at present to cover the art of the United States from its first settlement to about 1825, is to be a third department. American decorative arts of later periods will be in the Department of Renaissance and Modern Art.

For these three new departments the following appointments, to take effect January 1, 1934, have been made by the Trustees upon the recommendation of the Director: Curator of Renaissance and Modern Art, Preston Remington; Curator of Mediaeval Art, James J. Rorimer; Curator of the American Wing, Joseph Downs. In addition the following appointments have been made by the Director: in the Department of Renaissance and Modern Art, C. Louise Avery and John Goldsmith Phillips, Associate Curators, and Frances P. Little, Assistant Curator in Charge of the Textile Study Room; in the American Wing, Ruth Ralston, Associate Curator.

Since all these appointments are from the staff of the present Department of Decorative Arts, none of the new curators and their colleagues require any introduction to the public or to the readers of the BULLETIN, to which they have been frequent contributors.

H. E. WINLOCK.

## NEIGHBORHOOD CIRCULATING EXHIBITIONS

In an effort to reach certain groups in the city's population that have not thus far had adequate opportunity to take advantage of the Museum's services, the experiment will be made by the Museum this season of circulating among settlement houses a series of three exhibitions of objects selected from its own collections, each to be shown in succession in three regions of New York.

The first exhibition will be of Chinese and Japanese art; the second of armor and other European arts of the time of the discovery of America; and the third of ancient Egyptian art. The neighborhoods included in this first season's circuits are those served by the University Settlement, at Rivington and Eldridge Streets; the Hudson Guild, on Twenty-seventh Street between Ninth and Tenth Avenues; and Greenwich House, on Barrow Street near Seventh Avenue. The collections will be shown in six-week periods, between November sixth and April fifteenth.

The idea of holding neighborhood exhibitions dates back a number of years, collections of paintings having been shown, for example, at the Children's Room, New York Public Library, in 1913, Washington Irving High School, in 1914 and 1915, the Lorillard Mansion of the Bronx Society of Arts and Sciences, in 1915, the Chatham Square Branch Library, in 1917, and the Hamilton Fish Park Branch Library, in 1918. Not until now, however, has the road been clear for putting this purpose into effect in settlement houses and thus realizing the plan of the Museum staff and the earnest anticipations of interested settlement workers. Nor, in the past, have such exhibitions been of so general and diversified a character as those now planned.

The plan for the coming winter is frankly an experimental one. The Museum will watch this series of exhibitions with great interest, will endeavor to find out to what extent there is a need for them and how much interest they create in the three neighborhoods which have been chosen. Whether such exhibitions are repeated in the future will depend upon the results of

the present series. Furthermore, the Museum hopes to collect data which might be of use if in the future it becomes feasible to establish branch museums in the city.

H. E. WINLOCK.

### A DIPTYCH BY HUBERT VAN EYCK

The pictures of the Crucifixion and the Last Judgment, the two panels of a diptych<sup>1</sup> the acquisition of which is announced in this article, have come to be recognized in recent years as superb examples of early Flemish painting—as grand monuments indeed of the art of the Netherlands.

They have no pedigree to speak of. Bought in Spain (from a monastery near Madrid, it is said) by the Russian diplomat D. P. Tatistchev, they were bequeathed by him to Czar Nicholas I and entered in 1845 what appeared to be their permanent resting place, the Imperial Museum of the Hermitage.

In times of political upheaval works of art seemingly fixed in the collections of reigning or princely families sometimes find their way back into the public market. Such an occasion was the dispersal during the Commonwealth in England of the magnificent collections of Charles I to the enrichment of so many foreign galleries. A like occasion was the removal to England and the sale of the famous Palais-Royal pictures belonging to the Orléans family, following the French Revolution. Our world-war epoch is still another example. Soviet Russia has disposed of a number of the masterpieces inherited from the imperial government. Our diptych is one of these. It was sold in the earlier part of this year and by unique good fortune the Metropolitan Museum has been able to acquire it.

This work has never before borne the ascription to Hubert van Eyck which we venture to attach to it. It came to the Hermitage as the work of John van Eyck. This attribution was changed later to Petrus

Cristus on the advice of Dr. Waagen, then director of the Berlin Museum. His advice was based on the fact that a Last Judgment of similar arrangement to that of the Last Judgment of the diptych (an empty copy of it in fact) occurs on a panel of an altarpiece in Berlin which is signed Petrus Cristus and dated 1452. The impossibility of this attribution soon became manifest, and in 1887 the diptych was reassigned to John van Eyck. It so appeared in the latest official publication on the Hermitage paintings (1909), notwithstanding the many discussions which the pictures of the diptych had already begun to provoke. Their great merit won recognition slowly (as always happens in the case of untrumpeted discoveries) as did also their significance as the work of Hubert van Eyck, the fountainhead of Northern painting.

No certain, documented proof exists for the attribution to him—the evidence is circumstantial and presumptive. It has not been accepted by all the authorities. But the sum of the evidence is sufficient, in our opinion, to warrant the attribution.

Our knowledge of the life of Hubert van Eyck is next to nothing. His name is cited four or five times between 1424 and 1426 in the archives of Ghent, and his epitaph has been preserved. The major document in his case is the inscription on the frame of the great altarpiece in Ghent, *The Adoration of the Lamb*, which states that "the painter Hubert van Eyck, greater than whom there is none to be found, began, and his brother John, the second in art, finished this work at the prayer of Josse Vydt." The last line of the inscription (it is a quatrain), *VersV seXta Mal· Vos CoLLoCat aCta tVerl*, is a chronogram, the addition of the numeral letters capitalized giving 1432 as the year of the inauguration of the altarpiece. The line might be translated, "By this verse the sixth of May invites you to behold the work completed."

Hubert died in 1426, six years before the altarpiece was finished. During these years John carried it out, no doubt on the lines his brother had decided, completing what was partly done, painting entire parts which had only been drawn in, harmonizing his own style with Hubert's, and also perhaps

<sup>1</sup> Acc. nos. 33.92 A, B. Oil (or a varnish medium) on canvas, transferred from wood. Each, h. 22¼ in.; w. 7¾ in. Purchased with income from the Fletcher Fund. Shown this month in the Room of Recent Accessions.



harmonizing Hubert's style with his own when this was necessary.

John's style is familiar from signed and dated pictures, several close in time to the finishing of the altarpiece. Even so there is practically no agreement among the authorities as to just where his handiwork is to be found on it. Vastly more difficult is the problem of Hubert's contribution, as the inscription is the only thing to start from. What finished work he may have left was in all likelihood more or less masked by John, not to mention the many restorations to which, we know, the altar has been subjected. Indeed it might be said that until the discoveries and comparisons of our own time this artist was only a reputation the single source of which was the teasing inscription.

But the existence of a Flemish master of startling originality in the early years of the fifteenth century, distinct from John van Eyck, had long been postulated by historians of art, just as astronomers postulate the existence of a planet at a certain place in the firmament before it is found by the telescope. His influence in the Low Countries and in northern France was discernible, although his autographic productions had not been identified except by guess. No doubt it was he to whom the inscription on the Ghent altarpiece gave a name and the proud designation "greater than whom there is none to be found." That the only preserved work of one so considered should be alone that which was hidden somewhere on the altarpiece was surely unreasonable. Other paintings by him must be findable!

Students of art began to make progress in their search at the close of the last century. It was timidly suggested by W. H. James Weale that a picture in an English collection, *The Three Marys at the Tomb*, undoubtedly of the so-called Van Eyck group, painted with the oil or varnish medium peculiar to these artists, showed an intensity of religious feeling which seemed to separate it from the undoubted works of John, to whom it was attributed. As early as 1902 Georges Hulin de Loo (to whom belongs the chief credit in the clarifying of the problem of this mysterious master) had come to the conclusion that this picture of the Three

Marys was clearly by the same hand as the lower central part of the Ghent altarpiece. "As it differs in many respects from the authentic works of John," he stated in the catalogue of the *Exposition des primitifs flamands* at Bruges, "it must be attributed, I think, to Hubert."

That same year, 1902, brought further enlightenment. Count Paul Durrieu published then the reproductions of the full-page illustrations in a lately discovered manuscript book in the Royal Library of Turin—an event of capital importance in the rehabilitation of our artist. He had already called attention to the fact that a group of its illustrations had a close relationship to the art of the Van Eycks. Many artists of various epochs had worked on the manuscript and it had passed through several ownerships from the time it was commenced in the late years of the fourteenth century, at the order of that famous connoisseur, John of France, Duke of Berry, the brother of King Charles V. The book was destroyed in the burning of the Turin Library in 1904, and the descriptions of those who saw it and the reproductions which Durrieu had made are today its only memorials. A part of this same book, however, separated from it in the eighteenth century, is still intact in the library of Prince Trivulzio in Milan. The *Hours of Milan*, as this part of the work has been named in distinction to the other part, the so-called *Hours of Turin*, contains, among many others, several pictures by the artists whom Durrieu connected with the Van Eycks.

Both parts of the book have been exhaustively studied by Hulin de Loo. Seven of the pages, or important parts of pages—four in the *Turin Hours* and three in the *Milan Hours*—he pronounces to be the autographic productions of a great master, called by him in 1911, when his researches were published (he has since become more precise in his attribution), "the presumed Hubert van Eyck." The remaining work of the group he classes among various pupils and followers, all directly under the influence of the genius of this master.

These pages reveal that in the second decade of the fourteen-hundreds (the date is



THE CRUCIFIXION, BY HUBERT VAN EYCK



THE LAST JUDGEMENT, BY HUBERT VAN EYCK

determined as before 1417 by historical circumstances in connection with one of the pictures of the Hours of Turin), that is to say when the conventions of the Middle Ages still largely prevailed, a painter endowed with the modern vision completely developed had suddenly appeared and was in the fullness of his power. The mediaeval painter seems to have been blind to the effects of light and atmosphere. His pictures, conceived more or less like colored bas-reliefs, were all similar in lighting. If the scene he was painting took place at night, for instance, he expressed the fact not by darkness or indistinctness but by making one of his figures carry a lighted candle or lantern. Certainly from the turn of the century, Northern painters had begun to introduce landscape backgrounds, in vague imitation of those which had already been done in Italy, but these were purely formulaistic and had no foundation on the observation of nature. Also some contemporaries of our painter were reaching out toward the novelty he discovered, but incongruities in their pictures, compared to his consistency, show that he was the leader and they the followers. His discovery was the painting of space—the painting of things in their surrounding atmosphere—the essential trait of all Northern painting and of all European painting since the Renaissance.

The dramatic expression, the mood and character of human beings which his work displays so remarkably, had been the aim of painters since the time of Giotto. But it was our artist who first saw people and things as one with their surroundings. Moreover, he apprehended fully the poetic and expressional implications of his discovery. He saw that sunrise, evening twilight, the obscurity of a room, a brisk wind blowing over a choppy sea, night with torches, all had their particular characteristics which it was as possible to set down in painting as were the personality and mood of a human being.

That the painter of these pages can be identified with the artist whose style is traceable on the central lower panel of the Ghent altarpiece, who also painted the Three Marys, no one today denies. The connection between all these productions is unmistakable. The same dramatic concep-

tion, the same originality of observation, the same technical characteristics are found in all of them. These qualities are also found in our diptych and in a little picture in Berlin, *The Virgin in a Church*. Even before the pages were made known, these two pictures, our diptych and the Berlin panel, had been classed as by the artist—the collaborator of John van Eyck—who worked on the *Adoration of the Lamb* and who painted the *Three Marys*. The discovery of the manuscript book, with the wider knowledge of his art which it affords, adds further proof. The productions of this painter, accepted today as by his hand, consist then of the *Crucifixion* and the *Last Judgment* of our diptych, the seven pages of the manuscript book, the *Virgin in a Church*, the *Three Marys*, and the work in the style of the pictures named which appears on the central panel of the Ghent altarpiece.

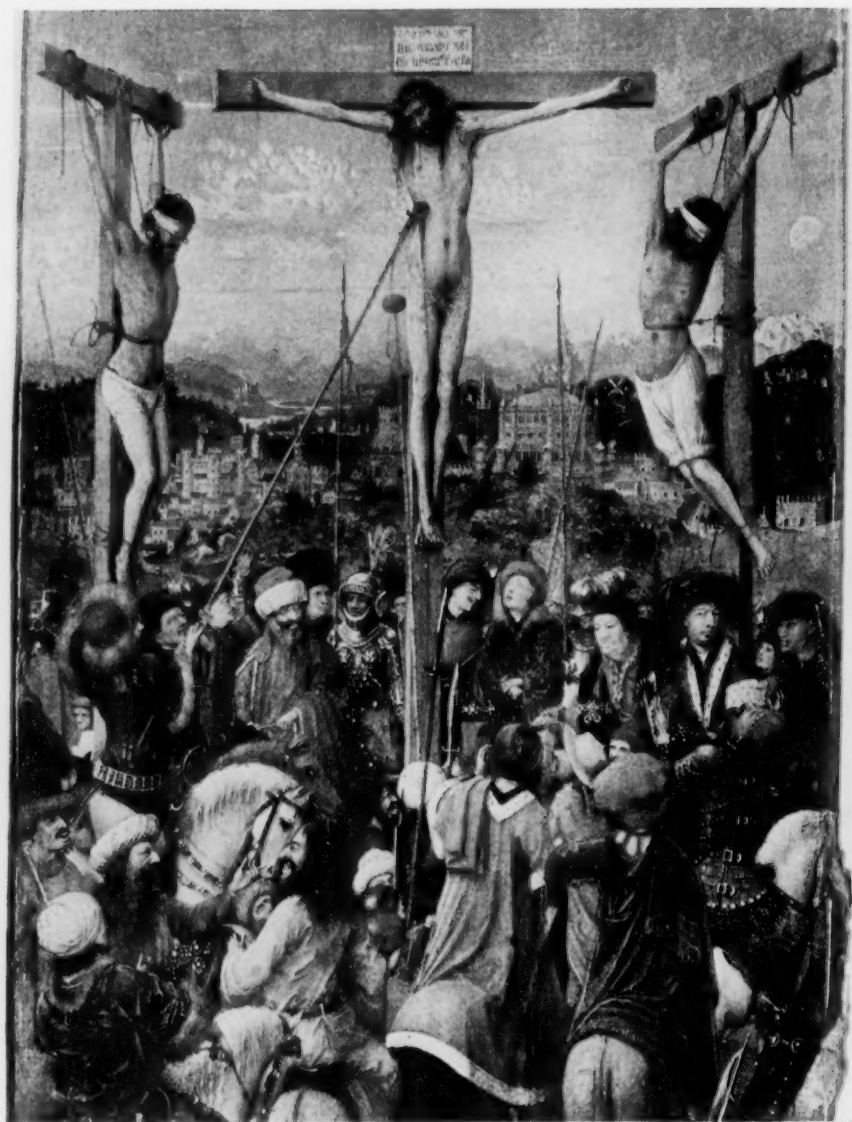
That he was Hubert van Eyck is the only possible conclusion provided the authenticity of the inscription on the altarpiece be accepted. Some authorities doubt its genuineness, prominent among them being Dr. Max J. Friedländer, who considers the whole group to be the youthful work of John van Eyck. Others, in whose company I enroll myself, find discrepancies which no lapse of time could reconcile between our painter and John as he is revealed in his undoubted works. Our artist was all nerves and sensibilities; he was racked by tremendous sympathies; he was mystical; his figures, though weak in drawing, are all intensely purposeful in expression. That such a character could ever develop into the placid, aloof, impassive artist and perfect craftsman that John's pictures show him to have been seems incredible.

So much for the justification of our attribution. Our panels would seem to be earlier works than the illuminated pages and the *Three Marys*. One would like to think that an entry in the inventory of the belongings of John Duke of Berry made at the time of his death in 1416 refers to them. "A large painted picture in two pieces," the entry states, "one with the Passion of our Lord and the other with the Judgment." The word large in the entry need not preclude



DETAIL OF THE LAST JUDGMENT





DETAIL OF THE CRUCIFIXION



DETAIL OF THE CRUCIFIXION

the possibility. In the early years of the fourteen-hundreds, when small panels were the rule, the dimensions of our diptych with its frames (the original frames sawed from the panels at the time they were transferred to canvas, in 1867), 27½ inches by 26 inches, might have been called large. But beyond the similarity of the subjects, the only basis for connecting our diptych with that which belonged to the Duke of Berry is the opinion of the eminent iconologist Émile Mâle. According to him, the joining of the two subjects—the death of Christ, the crowning scene of the Passion, and the Last Judgment—is altogether exceptional.

All the figures crowding the Crucifixion panel are separate and distinct creations. The emotion and the circumstances of each are delineated with the power of a great dramatic poet. The corpse of Christ is horrible and awful, His arms stretched and strained with the weight of the body, His jaw sagging with the mouth open and the teeth showing. How bitterly our painter hated those who surrounded the crosses—all but the centurion who recognizes the divinity of Christ—the brutal, impassive soldiers to whom the occasion is just something in the day's work, those who regard with satisfaction the execution as a triumph of law and order, the idle onlookers with their carelessness or their amused curiosity, those who have come to the Crucifixion as to a spectacle! With what compassion he has painted the Holy People! They have turned away from the unbearable sight; only the kneeling Magdalen faces the cross. In her passionate grief, she wrings her outstretched hands and calls on her Lord, her beautiful head thrown far back in a frenzy of despair. The Mother of God, the dignity of her divine destiny forgotten, is a poor, broken old woman whose son has been executed before her eyes; swooning, she sinks huddled in her mantle, and Saint John, his face contorted with anguish, supports her inert body. The Holy Women sob and whimper in their grief. The poignancy of the expression of these people has scarcely to this day been equaled in painting.

The landscape is only the background for the figures in this case, but it fittingly exemplifies the advances our painter accom-

plished in the development of landscape. All its items have been actually and accurately observed. An Alpine valley is beyond the city of Jerusalem; a glacier is rosy in the late sunlight; cumulous clouds and cirrus clouds are in the sky. The largeness and airiness of the view are not hindered by the setting down of every observable detail.

The Crucifixion panel has the great advantage of a single dominant motive. The Last Judgment lacks this artistic unity. Each of its several scenes requires attention for itself alone. In the upper part a pitying Christ sits as judge, between Mary (no longer the hopeless mortal who faints with grief before the cross, but a radiant celestial being) and Saint John the Baptist. Above them in birdlike attitudes hover angels, some carrying the instruments of the Passion, some blowing long trumpets. Directly below is Paradise. On two benches, like priests at matins, sit the Apostles, each a distinct personality. A procession of virgins appears between the benches. Round about are the holy souls. A smiling angel greets a king, another hails Christ, calling his attention to a monk who is being ushered into the presence. Naked souls have placed themselves under the Virgin's cloak.

Saint Michael is below and in front of Paradise. Beyond is the earth, where the dead arise. Those who have been buried come from their graves, as the fires of the last day begin to burn, and the sea gives up its dead. The waves break helter-skelter on the shore like the waves of a sudden storm; they toss the bodies like their own spray.

Saint Michael stands on the shoulders of a gigantic winged skeleton, Death himself, whose outstretched wings are the roof of Hell. In Hell the tormented are pell-mell with the tormentors. The horned and spiky devils of the Middle Ages are here, and also new varieties of terror, combinations of human and animal forms. Rodents, snakes, toads, a braying donkey, a pig, a bear, all have been used to form the demons who crunch and suck and flay and tear asunder the sinners who have been delivered to them. Newcomers fall head downwards, and sleek or hairy snakes coil about their naked bodies, nip their stomachs, or crawl into their mouths. Hell was an abominable

reality to the sensitive soul of Hubert van Eyck. The diabolical inventions of Bosch or Grünewald or Brueghel are children's boggy lands compared to the horror of the Hell he imagined.

This forcible expression is in accord with the genius of the people of the Low Countries, as are also the dramatic energy and the humanness which these pictures, particularly the Crucifixion, display so prominently. Our panels epitomize many characteristic traits of the race. Indeed one finds predicted in the group of pictures which we cite as the work of Hubert the whole course of the school of the Netherlands—the art of Roger van der Weyden, Hugo van der Goes, Bosch, Brueghel, Brouwer, the seventeenth-century Dutchmen, and even Rembrandt himself.

BRYSON BURROUGHS.

### THREE HUNDRED YEARS OF LANDSCAPE

The Department of Prints is showing *Three Hundred Years of Landscape* in Galleries K 37-40 until the New Year. The exhibition is arranged in loose chronological order, beginning about 1500, when landscape first becomes something more than mere decoration or background, and ending with Constable, the first thoroughly nineteenth-century landscapist. Since landscape does not start until about the time of the invention of printing, it is almost the only subject in art whose main development can adequately be shown in prints. The following note cannot attempt anything like a history of landscape. It merely suggests why certain prints have been grouped together and why other natural groups (the work of Rubens, for instance) have been scattered.

Western art has practically no landscapes without figures until the Reformation, for Egyptian art was too utilitarian, Greek art too exclusively centered on man, and mediæval art too symbolic of man's relations to God. Yet people noticed nature, and the Flemish primitives painted charming meadows behind their saints. Dürer, although he used landscape only in water-color sketches and as backgrounds for figures, yet studied the exact shapes of rocks, trees, and

valleys more exhaustively than any other artist of his century except Leonardo. Lucas of Leyden took over Dürer's findings, but not the inquiring spirit that found them, so that Lucas's landscapes, though made up of "real" elements, do not hang together as Dürer's do. The landscapes of both were much copied by Italian engravers.

A school of pure landscape with no figures first appeared in Germany, where classic antiquity had never imposed its man-centered canons on the mass of the people. It appeared during the Reformation, when men's minds were turning away from scholastic symbolism. The little woodland scenes that Altdorfer etched somewhere around 1530 in the Danube Valley seem to be the earliest pure landscape prints. Their flamboyant Gothic flatness of spires and curlicues is the more remarkable since Altdorfer, who was also an architect, etched several very "round" buildings. Huber, Hirschvogel, and Lautensack also drew and painted these fantastic solitudes, but the style remained local (except for Hercules Seghers) and died early.

Although Pieter Brueghel the Elder made only one print with his own hands, he deeply influenced landscape in the Low Countries through the prints engraved after his drawings. His little village views started a tradition of clean line drawing that was carried on by the Van de Velde and Buytewech. His big valley landscapes, with their wide windy skies and their figures that grow out of the ground, became a theme for Rubens. And, finally, his solitudes of guttered rocks influenced one of the most singular geniuses that ever devoted himself to landscape, Hercules Seghers. It is not too much to say that Dutch landscape would have developed without Rembrandt much as it did with him, but without Seghers there would have been a difference. Seghers gave Dutch landscape (especially the painting) its somberness and grandeur, its rolled-up, impending clouds, its sea storms, its taste for gloomy Gothic ruins—so different from the archaeologized ruins of Rome—all of which descended through Ruysdael's paintings to the romantic revival. Ruysdael's etchings, however, show nothing of this, being more like pages

from an instruction book on the anatomy of trees. Seghers was probably the only artist to have any deep influence on Rembrandt, who owned six of his paintings and re-etched at least one of his coppers. Rembrandt hardly started doing landscape until Seghers settled in Amsterdam about 1636. Seghers must have suggested to him how to dramatize his landscape paintings by spotlights breaking through clouds, and how to etch massed trees and the wide Dutch flats. No etcher has ever been so natural as Rembrandt. He was natural not in the way the older artists were, by rendering each detail with sharp, near-sighted accuracy, but by his fidelity to the effect of things at their normal distances from the eye. He allowed nothing, no preconceptions, no wavering of the hand nor even virtuosity, to come between what he saw and what he drew. His drawing therefore looks so inevitable and so easy that one instinctively reaches for a pen to do likewise. Yet, since the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries wanted arranged scenery and neat "professional" drawing, Rembrandt's landscape etching had no followers until the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century amateurs in France and England. Rembrandt's landscape painting seems never to have had any influence at all.

In Italy the Graeco-Roman anthropocentrism dominated too thoroughly to allow much pure landscape. What little there was had to be smuggled in behind a Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata or an Actaeon. The Italians had admitted Northern superiority in landscape since the Van Eycks, and few Italian engravers before 1550 failed to copy or adapt at least one landscape from Dürer or Lucas of Leyden. The Italians appreciated their accurate rocks and trees, and went as daft over their half-timbered castles as the eighteenth century did over pagodas. Italy almost officially recognized their superiority when Marcantonio copied a landscape from Lucas of Leyden to set behind Michelangelo's already classic nudes from the Battle of Pisa. Yet Italy did develop a landscape style, not in Florence, the home of sculptors and draftsmen, but in the painters' town of Venice. Still one wonders why Giorgione, while living among stones

in the sea, painted hayricks and the most earthy of twilight stable yards. Did the Venetians when once they set foot on land smell the ploughed fields and feel the closeness of hills with a zest that only novelty can give? Although Giulio Campagnola engraved the Giorgionesque landscape several times, his prints do not seem to have carried it beyond Venetian territory. On the other hand, Titian's generalized, rolling landscape was eagerly caught up by all Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and especially by Rubens.

Rubens must have remembered Titian's success in getting woodcutters to render his pictorial richness when he published his own landscapes in Schelte a Bolswerth's thick-lined, rich engravings. Copper never reproduced the largeness of oil paint until Rubens began schooling his engravers. In Titian's sweeping, generalized style Rubens restated Pieter Brueghel's broad valley scenes, live skies, and figures securely lodged in their surroundings at any and every distance. Rubens's landscapes, never topographically exact, are hardly even natural, but rather a direct expression of his athletic self.

The Northern landscapists who painted in Rome, first Elsheimer, then Poussin and Claude Lorrain, learned less from Italian landscape painting than they did from the actual countryside of the Campagna. This is especially true of Elsheimer. All three came to Rome with their heads full of Daphnis and Chloe and the Pastor Fido, and it was they, and not the Romans themselves, who reseeded the Campagna with nymphs and satyrs. The Romans and Tuscans, like Stefano della Bella, hardly glanced at their fields, and saw even the greatest ruins of antiquity in the dry light of their own backyard. The idyllic landscape, spread abroad through the prints by and after Elsheimer and Claude, thrived especially well in the Netherlands and lasted into Turner's time. Elsheimer also altered the indoor candlelight of the late Cinquecento painters to outdoor lanterns, in which he was followed by Jan van de Velde and Rembrandt.

The French eighteenth century, living consistently indoors, did not originate much



landscape. For Watteau landscape was a shrubbery salon, for Pillement a rococo screen, for Hubert Robert a wall-paper perspective. The gauzy little etchings by the Rembrandtesque amateur Gabriel de Saint-Aubin bring in the only fresh note.

There is one distinct branch of landscape art that grew very important in eighteenth-century England, the view, or topographical and informative landscape. The view started in the fifteenth century, when a printer would often keep a woodcut symbol of The City for inserting into chronicles and books of travel whenever he wished to tell the reader that "here the author writes of a city." Some of the more elaborate books, like Rolewinck's *Chronicle* or Breydenbach's *Travels*, had recognizable woodcuts of particular cities. Bird's-eye views were common among early single-sheet prints, probably because people were still accustomed to the piled-up perspective of mediaeval painting. The most interesting of the early view makers was Wenzel Hollar, who traveled about etching scenes in Bohemia, Germany, and England. Many of his six hundred fresh little views record the chance sights which he or his patron, Lord Arundel, happened to admire on their journeys, usually the outskirts of some town or a pretty bend in a stream. Hollar's contemporaries, Silvestre and Perelle, brought the buildings of Louis XIV and his court to an ever widening public that strove to imitate them, just as Piranesi brought Roman architecture to the Europe of Winckelmann's age. Canaletto, probably because he was trained as a painter of stage scenery, was the first to make city views of monumental volume. For handsome design and clean, sprinkling light, his etchings have never been surpassed. His genre of dignified city views was carried on by the English aquatint and color lithograph. England, in the age of Girtin, Stadler, and Boys, became the great view-making country of Europe, setting a stamp of topographical accuracy on all nineteenth-century landscape except the more derivative side of Turner and Corot's later work. The view flourished especially in England because Englishmen, unlike Continentals, liked to hang the por-

traits of their wives among portraits of their horses and their estates.

Around 1800 England led Europe not only in views but also in landscape painting and in landscape gardening (witness the *jardin anglais* at the foot of every Continental statue). When Constable and other Englishmen exhibited in the Salon of 1824, they precipitated the movement that settled in Barbizon and Fontainebleau. English artists had already organized the teaching of landscape into an academic system (as drawing from the nude had been since the Cinquecento) and had published manuals for instruction, the most original as well as one of the earliest (about 1785) being that by Alexander Cozens. Almost all English early eighteenth-century landscape engravings reproduce Continental paintings, and in the nineteenth century the English landscapists still harked back to bygone traditions, Turner to Claude's paintings, Crome to Ruysdael and Hobbema, Clerk of Eldin to Claude's etchings, Zeeman, and Hollar, Geddes, anticipating the end of the century, to Rembrandt, and Constable, though the deepest student of nature of them all, to the sweep and richness of Rubens. Although Constable made practically no prints himself, the mezzotints that David Lucas made under his direction became, as he supervised and corrected them, like works of his own hand. Their various states show minutely how his ideas started and grew. Lucas, who was the last master of mezzotint, caught the flow and glint of oil paint better than any engraver before him. The general public knew Constable's art almost entirely through these mezzotints until 1888, when the South Kensington Museum acquired the first important public collection of his paintings from his daughter.

Landscape may be a minor art, though it does not seem so to the Chinese and Japanese. It is surprising, however, how much human interest lurks in rocks, trees, and valleys. The present exhibition makes a kind of history of nostalgia, since landscapes are not unlike windows into promised lands.

A. HYATT MAYOR.

## AN EAST INDIAN GUN

A hunting gun dating from about 1700, with a simple matchlock mechanism but stock and barrel of unusual merit, is exhibited during the current month in the Room of Recent Accessions. Lock, stock, and barrel are worthy examples of skillful work in several techniques by hereditary craftsmen of India.

There is nothing European about the gun (fig. 1) except the matchlock mechanism, a Western invention introduced into India probably early in the sixteenth century. The fact that a musket was fired by someone in the crowd when Vasco da Gama, the discoverer of the sea route to India, was triumphantly led as a prisoner through the streets of Calicut in 1498 shows that even at this early period firearms had found their way into southern India. The year 1510, however, when Goa was occupied by the Portuguese, may be taken as the date of the permanent introduction of the matchlock into India. In the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna is a splendid series of tapestries representing the victorious Portuguese, with matchlocks on their shoulders, re-entering Goa in 1538.

The trigger of our gun, which is chased and damascened to represent a stretching leopard in silhouette, passes through the stock, as do the triggers of European handguns of the fifteenth century, a mechanism borrowed, incidentally, from the earlier crossbow release. In European guns of the sixteenth century and later, the serpentine is attached to a lockplate. In our Indian gun a plate overlaid with silver is riveted with silver chrysanthemum-headed studs to either side of the lock, but these plates merely serve the purpose of strengthening the stock where it overlaps the forestock. Unlike European guns, which are

readily dismounted, the barrel and stock are permanently fastened. The barrel is bound to the stock with strands of silver wire braided at intervals, being secured at its breech end by a band riveted to the stock. As in other Oriental matchlocks, the serpentine points from the stock toward the barrel. In European matchlocks, the serpentine usually points toward the stock, as does the dog-head of a wheellock. Our gun thus serves to illustrate the fact that in the Orient things are done in the opposite way from which they are done in the West.

The matchlock goes but a step beyond applying the lighted match by hand. The most primitive type consisted of a curved lever in one piece, which was pivoted inside the stock, the end of the lever being split to receive the lighted match. An advance was the link-coupling mechanism, and various types of snap matchlocks were later developments in Europe. The mechanism of the Indian gun which is the subject of this note is of the link type. It consists of a pivoted lever (trigger), which passes through the stock and is held down by a spring, and a pivoted serpentine, which is joined to the end of the trigger arm by a link coupling. The serpentine is advanced to the powder in the pan (protected when not in use by its pivoted cover) by pressing the trigger. Needless to say, the gun did not click with the precision of the modern rifle.

In Europe the matchlock mechanism was retained for centuries. In America the majority of the early colonists at Jamestown, New Netherlands, and Plymouth used the matchlock because it was cheap and easy to make. Occasionally one sees an ornate European matchlock, an exceptionally fine one being exhibited in Gallery H 8, Case 67, but the American examples are severely plain.



FIG. 1

In the decoration of the stock of our Indian gun color is a vital element. The surface is painted dark green and covered with an all-over pattern of arabesques and floral motives in olive green with touches of vermillion and white. At regular intervals appear panels with animals in natural colors on a gold mat ground (see fig. 2) and palmettes with naturalistic floral forms in pink, red, and green—also on a gold mat ground. The artist who ornamented this stock was doubtless also engaged in painting miniatures and decorating bookbindings, a type of work of which excellent examples may be seen in the current exhibition of Islamic art in Gallery D 6.

Behind the barrel are applied fluted plaques of ivory; the butt cap is also of ivory. Two copper loops for securing the shoulder strap are riveted to the forestock, and a steel ramrod fits into a socket. Secured to the silvered plate to the right of the lock are an iron tube for snuffing out the match cord and a prickler for cleaning the touchhole.

The barrel, which is a smooth bore of  $21/32$  inch caliber, is exceptionally long, measuring 3 feet  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches, the over-all measurement of the gun being almost five feet. Its exceptional length gives the projectile velocity before the gas is spent. The

breech end is strongly reinforced, for here the maximum force is exerted at the discharge. The flaring muzzle is chased and damascened with a grotesque animal head, the eyes of vermillion enamel. There is a rear sight, and an indentation near the mouth which indicates the position of the front sight. The barrel is made of watered steel, the pattern being clearly visible at the breech end. It is damascened with foliation in gold and stamped with a reticulate design with a raised dot in the center of each lozenge. The work was executed by a dexterous craftsman. Indian steel was so celebrated in England and on the Continent that it was widely used there in making gun barrels in the last century.

Our matchlock came to us by way of London, the Western market for Oriental arms and armor. It was no doubt brought there by an officer who valued it as an object of unusual workmanship rather than as a mere souvenir. The gun must be the work of several craftsmen since it represents many specialized techniques, namely, wood-working, painting, the making of damascus steel (which includes etching, to bring out the watered pattern), damascening, stamping, wire drawing, silver overlay, ivory carving, and metal chasing.

STEPHEN V. GRANCAY.

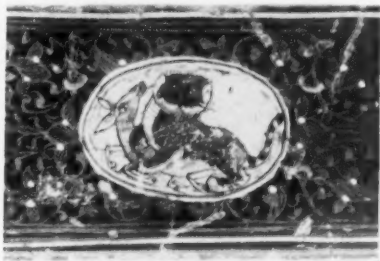


FIG. 2. DETAIL OF PAINTED STOCK

## NOTES

**ISLAMIC MINIATURES.** The illustrated guide to the exhibition of miniature painting now being shown in Gallery D 6, which has been written by Dr. M. S. Dimand, is on sale at the Information Desk and in the gallery.<sup>1</sup>

**CHANGES IN ADDRESS.** In order to facilitate the prompt delivery of mail it is earnestly requested that Members and subscribers to the *BULLETIN* who are returning to the city for the winter months notify the Secretary of their change in address.

**MEMBERSHIP.** At a meeting of the Board of Trustees, held October 16, 1933, Alphonso T. Clearwater was declared a **BENEFACTOR** and the following persons were elected to the classes of membership indicated herewith: **FELLOWSHIP MEMBERS**, Mrs. Van Santvoord Merle-Smith, Frederick Strauss; **SUSTAINING MEMBERS**, Felice Bava, Mrs. James S. Cobb, Miss Lois Loder, Mrs. E. S. Peierls. Thirty-eight persons were elected **ANNUAL MEMBERS**.

**THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXPEDITIONS.** The two expeditions sent out by the Museum are at present beginning a new season's work. The Persian Expedition has already started operations on the same site as last year, Qasr-i-Abu Naşr, near Shīrāz. The Egyptian Expedition is about to recommence excavations at the pyramid of Se'n-Wosret I at Lisht. The personnel of the two expeditions will remain the same as last year, with one exception. In Persia Joseph M. Upton of the Near Eastern Department will again be assisted by Walter Hauser and Charles K. Wilkinson of the Egyptian Expedition. At Lisht Ambrose Lansing will have the assistance of William C. Hayes, Jr., Henry A. Carey, and in addition that of Lindsley F. Hall, who is returning to Egypt after an absence of two years. Norman de

Garis Davies and Harry Burton will continue the work of recording the tombs and temples at Thebes and as usual the latter will also assist in the photographic end of the work at Lisht.

**THE TECHNIQUE OF TEXTILES.** This season the Museum will include among its courses of particular interest to employees of stores and manufacturers a special series of six lectures on the Technique of Textiles, given on Thursdays, November 2 through December 14, at 9 a.m. These lectures will consist of discussions in non-technical language of the processes used in the making of various types of textiles, fully illustrated with materials from current stock as well as from the Museum collections. Specialists on the following subjects have kindly agreed to coöperate: Printed Fabrics, John C. Milne, Vice-President, Johnson & Faulkner, Inc.; Woven Fabrics, R. C. Hasenclever, Assistant Manager, Mill Department, F. Schumacher & Co.; Woven Fabrics, Horace B. Cheney, Vice-President, Cheney Brothers; Texture, with Special Reference to Synthetic Fabrics, Alexis Sommaripa, Manager of Fabric Development, Viscose Process Department, Du Pont Rayon Co.; Velvets, F. W. Stolzenberg, Chief of Design and Research, Sidney Blumenthal & Co.; Tapestries, Lorentz Kleiser, President, Edgewater Tapestry Looms, Inc.

**A SPECIAL EXHIBITION.** The Museum has recently received two large and important gifts of textiles. One of them is the collection of lace brought together by the late Mrs. Mabel Metcalf Fahnestock, in whose memory it is now presented to the Museum by her daughters, Mrs. Ruth Fahnestock Schermerhorn and Miss Faith Fahnestock. It is without doubt one of the finest private collections ever assembled in this country, nearly every one of the 182 pieces being of

<sup>1</sup> 4to, x, 56 pp., 30 ill. Price \$1.00.

unusual interest to the student and the admirer of lace. The other, the gift of Mrs. Valentine Blacque of Paris in memory of her husband, is a distinguished group of sixty-six European woven fabrics and embroideries dating from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century. It is particularly rich in velvets and brocades of the Renaissance and includes several important ecclesiastical vestments.

Both collections will be shown in a special exhibition in Gallery H 15, opening on December 9 and continuing through June 3, 1934. Articles in the December issue of the BULLETIN will describe the collections in detail.

J. G. P.

AT THE MUSEUM ON SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS. Week-ends are exceptionally busy periods at the Museum, filled as they are with lectures and study-hours, stories and gallery talks. The visitor cannot fail to find something of interest to him among the many facilities offered without charge for his enjoyment.

From October to June there are gallery talks on both Saturday and Sunday, given by members of the Museum's educational staff. These informal lectures, the subjects of which are announced on the bulletin board at the entrance to the Museum and in the daily press, are on some phase of art illustrated in the Museum collections. Special talks may be arranged on application.

Two courses—Saturday Lectures and Sunday Lectures—are concerned with the appreciation or the history of art. These are given by distinguished scholars, foreign and American, and cover a wide range of subjects.

On Sunday Grace Cornell, with the assistance of various specialists, gives her course of study-hours for practical workers on design and color and their practical application. These study-hours are planned for all those interested in designing and manufacturing, buying and selling, or styling well-designed objects.

The children are not forgotten in this week-end activity. On both Saturday and Sunday, from the latter part of September to May, Anna Curtis Chandler gives a series of story-hours for boys and girls—

stories and pictures of the arts and people of many lands.

GERMAN PORCELAIN FIGURES. Chinoiserie designs had a tremendous vogue in the eighteenth century, appearing in every variety of material from printed wall paper and brocaded silk to mahogany carved in high relief. Probably no other medium gave them better expression than did hard-paste porcelain. Its brilliant surface fitted their sophistication, its gay coloring their debonair manner; its clean hard substance lent itself to precise and delicate modeling. Bright little Chinese figures grouped themselves playfully under pagoda-like canopies or, less gregarious, disported themselves *tout seul*.

One of these "pagoda" figures representing a seated Chinaman, tea things scattered with a delightful casualness at his feet, has just been purchased by the Museum. Dating from about 1735 to 1740, it represents the work of the Meissen factory in its heyday, the Kaendler period. It will make an interesting supplement to the Museum's group of Meissen teapots, bowls, and cups and saucers decorated with chinoiseries in gold and in colored enamels.

With the little Chinaman came a dancing girl of Frankenthal porcelain, after a model by Johann Friedrich Lück, and the figure of a street sweeper, modeled by Pierre François Lejeune at Ludwigsburg. These statuettes have long been companions, as all three were in the Rosenberg-Goldschmidt and Nijenrode Collections. Soon after the dispersal of the latter last spring the three were purchased by the Metropolitan Museum, where their arrival is most welcome.<sup>1</sup>

C. L. A.

THE MUSEUM LIBRARY. The remark is sometimes heard, "I did not know there was a library in the Museum," even from someone who has often visited the Museum. Such persons may be interested in learning what the Library contains.

The books we acquire are those which relate to archaeology and the fine and decorative arts. More specifically we might men-

<sup>1</sup> Acc. nos. 33.100.1-3. Shown this month in the Room of Recent Accessions.



tion the collections of books which relate to the objects exhibited in the different departments of the Museum—Egyptian art, classical art, Far Eastern art, Near Eastern art, painting, decorative arts, arms and armor, prints—as well as volumes on architecture and the subjects represented in the American Wing of the Museum.

Another important feature is the current periodical room, in which are five hundred and fifty periodicals on art and archaeology in sixteen different languages and a number of bulletins and other serial publications of museums and societies.

Sales catalogues, so important to the collector, include those of the American Art Galleries and the Anderson Galleries, the London sales held at Christie's and at Sotheby's, and most of the important French and German catalogues. A large number of these catalogues are illustrated and have the sale prices inserted. We also have a number of catalogues of minor sales held in this country and abroad.

The Photograph Division of the Library contains an important reference collection of reproductions of the art of different countries, which has been formed along the same lines as those followed in the selection of books. Besides black and white photographs, there are excellent examples in color, including a complete set of the Medici Prints.

Connected with the Library is the Extension Division, which, beginning with a small collection of lantern slides, has grown to large proportions. It now has sixty thousand lantern slides, paintings, Cypriote pottery and bronzes, Japanese prints, facsimiles of engravings and etchings, and photographs in black and white and in color, and these are in constant circulation, many of them going to distant parts of the country.

W. C.

**A GIFT OF COSTUMES.** During the second half of the eighteenth century in France men's formal clothing achieved a degree of elegance unequalled before or since in the long history of masculine wearing apparel. Suits composed of coats, waistcoats, and breeches were made of the finest velvets, satins, and delicately figured silks. Em-

broidered ornament of the most fanciful and elaborate sort was the usual decoration. Typical were the gay needlework borders of floral sprays embroidered in pastel silks, brilliant metal threads, and sequins. The designing of this sort of pattern was not beneath the dignity of such famous *ornemanistes* as Bony or Lasalle. Fine clothing was of course enormously expensive, but to squander money on such elegant luxuries was characteristic of the men of the old régime.

The Museum is fortunate in receiving as a gift from Henry Dazian a group of costumes representative of the period. Outstanding among them are a coat and waistcoat of the time of Louis XVI. The handsome outer garment is of brown velvet with an elaborate floral design in silk and metal threads, and the waistcoat, which features the same type of embroidery, is of white satin, in pleasing contrast with the brown velvet of the coat. A coat and breeches of the same period, made of a brown silk figured with a small diaper pattern, are notable for the delicacy of color and the grace of design of the embroidered floral ornament. There is also a coat of black velvet with a black satin waistcoat decorated with small pieces of blue cut glass and sequins applied in the form of a conventionalized floral pattern. They may be assigned to the end of the third quarter of the century, and their somber splendor suggests that they were used during a period of mourning. There are also three separate waistcoats, all of the period of Louis XVI: one worked in the style of Jean-François Bony; another, a typical waistcoat of the period, embroidered in the popular *point de chaînette* stitch; and the last decorated with colored sequins and disks of blue glass.

These garments, which constitute a welcome addition to our growing costume collection, may be seen during this month in the Room of Recent Accessions.

J. G. P.

**FOR CHRISTMAS SHOPPERS.** Where could one find pleasanter surroundings for choosing holiday gifts than at the Museum? Just now the Information Desk has a particularly festive appearance with its shelves and

counters full of cards, calendars, prints, and books.<sup>1</sup> Here are time and space for making leisurely selections, and nobody is in danger of losing his pre-holiday enthusiasm in a struggle with hurrying crowds.

First there are Christmas cards planned to appeal to many tastes. Among those reproduced from prints are a Madonna and Child from the *Grandes Heures royales* and the Star of the Three Kings from a German woodcut of about 1473. This group includes, too, some homelier scenes—The First Snow by Ludwig Richter, Christmas Eve by A. von Kreling, and a Winter Scene by Jan van de Velde. Three really jolly subjects are Winter and Christmas Belles by Winslow Homer, and The Coachman Mixes a Christmas Bowl by Randolph Caldecott.

Paintings of Christmas subjects are reproduced as photographic cards—a Virgin and Child by a follower of Gerard David, Nativity with Saints by Ridolfo Ghirlandaio, Rest on the Flight into Egypt, Flemish school of the early sixteenth century, and a Madonna and Child in a Landscape, school of Roger van der Weyden.

Cards in color have been made from postcards, attractively mounted. Among these

are two favorite Christmas subjects, representations of the Nativity by Fra Angelico and Fiorenzo di Lorenzo.

The Calendar for 1934 deserves special notice, for it is entirely different from its predecessors. It is a little book, reminiscent in its format of the French calendars of the eighteenth century. For its illustrations Florence Wyman Ivins has made six drawings of scenes in various parts of the Museum—an Egyptian gallery, the American Wing, an armor gallery, the main entrance, and so forth, each presented in a delightful manner.

There are other gifts from which to choose, among them a cast of the newly acquired terracotta statuette of the Diadoumenos, a reproduction of a woodcut, Rest on the Flight into Egypt by Lucas Cranach, prints from two of Dürer's own woodblocks, and colorprints of Oriental, European, and American paintings. These colorprints include twelve Persian and Indian paintings, any one of which would be a welcome gift for a friend who has enjoyed the current exhibition of Islamic miniature painting. Not to be forgotten are the Museum's books on various phases of art, which have, besides the intrinsic interest of their subject matter, the attractions of lavish illustration and distinguished typography.

<sup>1</sup> For those who wish to order by mail a price list of gifts and lists of reproductions and publications will be sent upon request.

## LIST OF ACCESSIONS AND LOANS

SEPTEMBER 6 TO OCTOBER 5, 1933

### CERAMICS

*Purchases* (3).

### METALWORK

*Purchases* (3).

### MINIATURES AND MANUSCRIPTS

*Purchase* (1).

### REPRODUCTIONS

*Purchase* (1).

### SCULPTURE

*Purchase* (1).

### WOODWORK AND FURNITURE

*Gift of Louis J. Boury* (1).

### METALWORK

*Loan of Captain Lewis Morris* (1).

### PAINTINGS

*Loans of Mrs. John H. Thomas* (1), *Mrs. Leonard Wood* (1).

### WOODWORK AND FURNITURE

*Loan of Mrs. Harry H. Benkard* (2).

## EXHIBITIONS AND LECTURES

NOVEMBER 13 TO DECEMBER 17, 1933

### LECTURES FOR MUSEUM MEMBERS

NOVEMBER	HOUR
13 Painting in France and the Netherlands before 1600: The Formative Period of Western Painting—the Fourteenth Century. Edith R. Abbot .....	3:30
14 Gallery Talk: The Mediaeval Spirit—Christian Symbolism in Mediaeval Sculpture. Mabel Harrison Duncan.....	11:00
16 Advanced Study-Hour: Color and Its Use. Grace Cornell.....	11:00
17 Study-Hour: Rugs. Grace Cornell.....	11:00
17 Gallery Talk: The Mediaeval Spirit—Christian Symbolism in Mediaeval Sculpture. Mabel Harrison Duncan.....	2:00
18 Story-Hour: A Queen Becomes a King—A Story of Egypt. Anna Curtis Chandler.....	10:15
18 Gallery Talk for Older Children: From the Tigris to the Tiber. Margaret B. Freeman..	11:00
20 Painting in France and the Netherlands before 1600: Fouquet and French Painting in the XV Century. Edith R. Abbot.....	3:30
21 Gallery Talk: The Mediaeval Spirit—Mediaeval Church Windows. Mabel Harrison Duncan.....	11:00
24 Study-Hour: Guiding Principles of Design. Grace Cornell.....	11:00
24 Gallery Talk: The Mediaeval Spirit—Mediaeval Church Windows. Mabel Harrison Duncan.....	2:00
25 Story-Hour: The Feast in the Plymouth Woods. Anna Curtis Chandler.....	10:15
25 Gallery Talk for Older Children: From the Tigris to the Tiber. Margaret B. Freeman..	11:00
27 Painting in France and the Netherlands before 1600: Beginnings of Art in the Netherlands—the Van Eyck Brothers. Edith R. Abbot.....	3:30
28 Gallery Talk: The Mediaeval Spirit—Mediaeval Tapestries. Mabel Harrison Duncan..	11:00
DECEMBER	
1 Gallery Talk: The Mediaeval Spirit—Mediaeval Tapestries. Mabel Harrison Duncan..	2:00
2 Story-Hour: A Chariot Race in Etruria. Anna Curtis Chandler.....	10:15
2 Gallery Talk for Older Children: From the Tigris to the Tiber. Margaret B. Freeman..	11:00
4 Painting in France and the Netherlands before 1600: Petrus Cristus and Other Followers of the Van Eycks. Edith R. Abbot .....	3:30
5 Gallery Talk: The Mediaeval Spirit—Minor Church Arts. Mabel Harrison Duncan.....	11:00
7 Advanced Study-Hour: Color and Its Use. Grace Cornell.....	11:00
8 Study-Hour: Guiding Principles of Design. Grace Cornell.....	11:00
8 Gallery Talk: The Mediaeval Spirit—Minor Church Arts. Mabel Harrison Duncan .....	2:00
9 Story-Hour: Athene's New Robe—A Story of Greece. Anna Curtis Chandler.....	10:15
9 Gallery Talk for Older Children: From the Tigris to the Tiber. Margaret B. Freeman..	11:00
11 Painting in France and the Netherlands before 1600: Roger van der Weyden and Hans Memling. Edith R. Abbot.....	3:30
14 Advanced Study-Hour: Color and Its Use. Grace Cornell.....	11:00
15 Study-Hour: Color. Grace Cornell.....	11:00
16 Story-Hour: A Christmas Wish—and What It Brought. Anna Curtis Chandler.....	10:15
16 Gallery Talk for Older Children: From the Tigris to the Tiber. Margaret B. Freeman..	11:00

### FREE PUBLIC LECTURES

A. Announced by Date and Subject

NOVEMBER	
18 Understanding the Art of India. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy.....	4:00
19 Painted Marriage Chests. Edith R. Abbot.....	4:00

# BULLETIN OF THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

NOVEMBER	HOUR
25 Indian Paintings. Laurence Binyon.....	4:00
26 Tradition in Textile Craftsmanship (Arthur Gillender Lecture). M. D. C. Crawford...	4:00
DECEMBER	
2 Japanese Sword Guards, with Special Reference to Design. Robert Hamilton Rucker...	4:00
3 Art in Use (Arthur Gillender Lecture). Richard F. Bach.....	4:00
9 The Development of French Landscape Painting. Auguste V. Desclos.....	4:00
10 The Temples of Peking. J. Henry White.....	4:00
16 Géricault. Walter Pach.....	4:00
17 Have We an American Art? Edward Alden Jewell.....	4:00

## B. Announced by Courses

Yale Cinema Films Showings: Chronicles of America Photoplays, Tuesdays, November 21, December 5, at 2:30 p.m.  
Museum Cinema Films Showings, Thursdays, at 2:30 p.m. (except November 30).  
Story-Hours for Boys and Girls by Anna Curtis Chandler, Saturdays, November 25, December 2, 16, at 1:45 p.m., and Sundays at 1:45 and 2:45 p.m.; by Agnes K. Inglis, Saturday, November 18, at 1:45 p.m.; by Susan Scott Davis, Saturday, December 9, at 1:45 p.m.  
Gallery Talks, Saturdays at 2:30 p.m.: November 18, Japanese Pottery, by Elise P. Carey; November 25, Chinese Sculpture, by Elise P. Carey; December 2, English Porcelains, by Ethelwyn Bradish; December 9, Rococo Art, by Elise P. Carey; December 16, Costumes, Old and New, by Ethelwyn Bradish.  
Gallery Talks, Sundays at 2:30 p.m.: November 19, An Aesthetic Study of Greek Sculpture, by Roberta M. Fansler; November 26, Cretan Palace Builders, by Marion E. Miller; December 3, Illustrations for Marius the Epicurean, by Roberta M. Fansler; December 10, Portraiture in Greece and Rome, by Marion E. Miller; December 17, Roman Paintings, by Marion E. Miller.  
Study-Hours for Practical Workers (Arthur Gillender Lectures), Sundays at 3 p.m.: November 19, by Arthur U. Dilley; November 26, by Grace Cornell; December 3, by Eugene Schoen; December 10, 17, by Grace Cornell.  
Radio Talks by Huger Elliott: WOR, Saturdays at 12:30 p.m.; WEA, Thursdays at 2:45 p.m. (except November 30); WNYC, Tuesdays, November 21, December 5, at 5:00 p.m.

## EXHIBITIONS

Loan Exhibition of Islamic Miniature Painting and Book Illumination	Gallery D 6	Through January 7, 1934
Recent Accessions in the Egyptian Department	Third Egyptian Room	Beginning October 28, 1933
Three Hundred Years of Landscape Prints	Galleries K 37-40	Beginning October 21, 1933
Lace Shawls of the Nineteenth Century	Gallery H 10	Through April 1, 1934

## THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

Incorporated April 13, 1870, "for the purpose of establishing and maintaining . . . a Museum and library of art, of encouraging and developing the study of the fine arts, and the application of arts to manufacture and practical life, of advancing the general knowledge of kindred subjects, and, to that end, of furnishing popular instruction."

## LOCATION

MAIN BUILDING. Fifth Avenue at 82d Street. Buses 1-4 of the Fifth Avenue Coach Company pass the door. Madison Avenue cars one block east. Express station on East Side subway at Lexington Avenue and 86th Street. Station on Third Avenue elevated at 84th Street. Cross-town buses at 70th and 86th Streets.

BRANCH BUILDING. The Cloisters. 668 Fort Washington Avenue. Fifth Avenue Bus 4 (Northern Avenue) passes the entrance. Also reached by the Eighth Avenue subway to 100th Street-Overlook Terrace station. Take elevator to Fort Washington Avenue exit and walk south.

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THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

THE EGYPTIAN AND PERSIAN  
EXPEDITIONS

1932-1933



SECTION II OF THE BULLETIN OF THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM  
OF ART, NEW YORK, NOVEMBER, MCMXXXIII

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1933

## THE EGYPTIAN AND PERSIAN EXPEDITIONS

1932-1933

The following pages contain the report for the twenty-seventh consecutive season of the Metropolitan Museum's Egyptian Expedition. In 1906, when it was started under the direction of Albert M. Lythgoe, the Egyptian Government granted it a concession at Lisht, where stand the ruins of the pyramids of the first two kings of the Twelfth Dynasty, and there excavations have been conducted at intervals under Lythgoe, the late Arthur C. Mace, and, in recent years, Ambrose Lansing.

The season of 1932-1933 extended from early in November until late in April. Lansing, the Director of the Expedition, was again in charge, assisted throughout by William C. Hayes, Jr., whose report on the texts of a new *maṣṭabah* will be found on page 26, and by Henry A. Carey. Harry Burton, in the last six weeks of the season, photographed the *maṣṭabah* and the objects found.

The collection of records of Egyptian monuments for the Museum—one of the important activities of the Expedition from its very inception—has been continued during the past winter by Mr. and Mrs. Norman de Garis Davies, some of whose colored facsimiles of wall paintings in tombs at Beni Ḥasan and Thebes are now shown in the Third Egyptian Room, and by Harry Burton, who has continued the photographic record of other Theban tombs and of the temple of Ḥat-shepsūt at Deir el Bahri.

During the winter of 1931-1932 the Near Eastern Department of the Museum started excavations in its field. With the object of obtaining antiquities of the Sasanian and

early Islamic periods, it conducted a joint expedition at Ctesiphon in 'Irāk, with the Islamic Art Department of the German State Museums,<sup>1</sup> the Metropolitan Museum being represented by Joseph M. Upton of the Near Eastern Department and Walter Hauser of the Egyptian Expedition.

For the season of 1932-1933—the second of field work for the Near Eastern Department—it was decided to transfer the activities to Persia, and a concession at Kāsr-i-Abu Naṣr, near Shirāz, was granted the Museum by the Persian Government. The clearing of the site was begun last autumn by Upton, who was again accompanied by Hauser and by a second member of the Egyptian Expedition, Charles K. Wilkinson. Upton conducted the administrative work of the Expedition and sorted, repaired, and classified the objects found. Wilkinson made himself responsible for the photography, some of the drawing and noting, and a complete study of the Achaemenian stones, while Hauser supervised the digging, did the planning and much of the drawing, and writes the report, on page 39, describing the first season's excavations.

Work on the site has progressed sufficiently far to identify the ruins as those of an early Islamic town, containing interesting fragments brought to it from some still earlier Achaemenian structure.

H. E. WINLOCK.

<sup>1</sup> Upton, *The Expedition to Ctesiphon, 1931-1932*, *BULLETIN*, August, 1932, pp. 188-197; *Staatliche Museen in Berlin, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Die Ausgrabungen der zweiten Ktesiphon-Expedition (Winter 1931-32): Vorläufiger Bericht* (Berlin, 1933).

## THE EGYPTIAN EXPEDITION

### THE EXCAVATIONS AT LISHT

THE PYRAMID OF SE'N-WOSRET I  
THE excavations of the Egyptian Expedition during the last season took place at Lisht, where the clearing of the South Pyramid, that of Se'n-Wosret I, was continued. The program for the season's work was simply to clear the area around the entrance on the north side of the pyramid and the entrance itself, and thus to complete the investigation of the pyramid proper and of the royal inclosure.

Our experience during the season of 1931-1932 had shown us that we need not expect anything in the nature of tombs in the Inner Court of the royal precinct—the narrow area lying between the pyramid and the inner, limestone inclosure wall.<sup>1</sup> There seemed, therefore, to be no reason in favor of making any extensive clearance of this area, and the arguments against it were strengthened by the fact that very high mounds lay on the north side of the pyramid in the form of spurs, projecting from the general slump of the pyramid and surrounding the entrance (fig. 1). These were the piles of débris, not unlike those cast up by any burrowing animal, left by the successive diggers who had penetrated into the underground passages and chambers of the pyramid—first the plunderers of antiquity, then the earlier excavators of the present era, whose funds did not permit the removal of the débris to any distance from the immediate site of their operations.

We, too, had to be careful in the matter of expense and did not feel justified in clearing away the huge mounds, especially as we did not hope for much more, as a result of our labors, than an accurate plan of the entrance.<sup>2</sup> We therefore determined to make a

cut through the piles of débris only wide enough to obtain access to the entrance with our railway. The whole gang of our regular workmen could not be concentrated in this confined space, so a number of them were set to work on an outlying portion of the cemetery in the hope of finding something more rewarding than plans and sections. But that is another story.

The clearing down to the entrance was accomplished without difficulty, for once the encircling mound was cut through, it was merely a matter of removing the débris which had slipped into the crater made by previous excavators. The original entrance to the sloping passage leading down to the subterranean chamber of the pyramid had been situated not in the casing of the pyramid but in the pavement of the inner court. Plunderers had, however, ripped out so much of the pavement and of the lining of the passage in their efforts to force an entry that no evidence remained to tell us how the door had been closed after the burial of the king (fig. 2). The granite-lined passage and its plug block of the same material are intact within the line of the pyramid itself, for here they have been protected by the mass of the structure above them, even though three casing stones of the bottom course are missing at this point. The juncture of the passage with the pavement has, however, entirely disappeared. Along the west side of the passage the plunderers had driven their own tunnel through the limestone blocks of the core of the pyramid, thus avoiding having to cut through the huge granite blocks which safeguarded it.

<sup>2</sup> The burial chamber of the king is inaccessible, for owing to the rising of the bed of the Nile during forty centuries, it is now permanently flooded by subsoil water.

<sup>1</sup> BULLETIN, April, 1933, Section II, p. 3 and note 3.



FIG. 1. LOOKING SOUTH AT THE NORTH SIDE OF THE PYRAMID  
THE MOUNDS ABOUT THE ENTRANCE BEFORE EXCAVATION



FIG. 2. LOOKING NORTH FROM THE NORTH SIDE OF THE PYRAMID AFTER EXCAVATION  
THE BREAK IN THE PAVEMENT SHOWS WHERE THE CHAPEL WAS SITUATED



The breaking up and removal of the heavy stones which had fallen into the hole were continued until we came to the foundation sand and the massive blocks of limestone which supported the granite lining of the passage. Two of these, still in the place where they had originally been set, bore inscriptions (fig. 4) like the ones made by transport gangs on some of the blocks we had found during the previous season.<sup>3</sup> Those had been marks on blocks which had been used in the construction of the pyra-

the completion of the preliminary operations of preparing the site for the pyramid. We may therefore consider it as a certainty that Se'n-Wosret I began active work on the building of his tomb in the tenth year of his reign.

It is a point of some interest that this year coincides with the death of Amen-em-hët I. During the first nine years of his reign Se'n-Wosret I had been co-regent with his father. It was only when he became sole ruler, in the tenth year of his reign, that he



FIG. 3. LIMESTONE RELIEF FROM THE CHAPEL OVER THE ENTRANCE TO THE PYRAMID. SE'N-WOSRET I BEFORE A TABLE OF OFFERINGS

mid itself at an undetermined height above pavement level. They varied in date from the eleventh to the thirteenth year of the

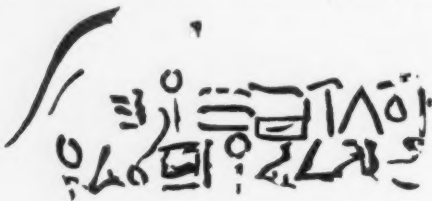


FIG. 4. INSCRIPTION ON A BLOCK OF STONE, RECORDING ITS TRANSPORT IN THE 10TH YEAR

king's reign. The new blocks are of the tenth year, and they are, moreover, among the first blocks which were laid down after

commenced the building of his own pyramid.

To return to the pyramid entrance. At the lowest point we had reached—the layer of sand in which the foundations of buildings are always bedded on this site—we came across a brick wall built on the same slope as the passage, though lower, and

<sup>3</sup> BULLETIN, April, 1933, Section II, pp. 5-8. It is necessary here to correct an error made in equating the dates of last year's inscriptions with the seasons. During this part of Se'n-Wosret I's reign the third month of the season Akhet practically coincides with the month of March, and the first month of Shōmu with September. All our quarry inscriptions fall within the period between these two months. The months represented, therefore, do not coincide with the period during which the Nile is low, but lie partly before and partly after the beginning of the flood.

with the same orientation, north and south. This lay somewhat to the east of the axis and seemed to be a retaining wall for the first sloping slideway by means of which the huge blocks for the building of the subterranean chamber of the pyramid were let down. To prove this supposition we had to find a corresponding wall to the west of the axis line. It was found eventually, but first we had to make a further clearing of the mounds as we could not widen the bottom

as our clearing westward continued we came across a large block of white limestone, and when the face of it was exposed it proved to be decorated (fig. 3). The delicately carved low relief is the upper part of a scene representing Se'n-Wosret I seated before a table of offerings. The hawk of Edfu hovers over his head. Behind him a standard is held by a bearer on whose head is set the Horus name of the king.

The plan of our work at the pyramid en-



FIG. 5. BLOCKS FROM THE CORNICE OF THE CHAPEL AS THEY WERE FOUND

of the hole without endangering the lives of the workmen.

Fortunate it was that this had to be done, for in removing the débris above the level of the court pavement we came upon something in the nature of a surprise. At the entrance of the other pyramid at Lisht, that of Amen-em-hêt I, our expedition had found the greater part of a huge granite stela<sup>4</sup>; and we had supposed that a similar stela, either of granite or of limestone, might be situated here as well. However, no inscribed fragments of any sort, except chips from the decorated panels of the inclosure wall, had so far come to light. But

<sup>4</sup> BULLETIN, October, 1908, p. 187.

trance was entirely changed by this discovery, for the relief was certain evidence that a chapel had existed on the north side of the pyramid, probably covering the entrance. Such chapels are known both in the Sixth Dynasty<sup>5</sup> and the Twelfth,<sup>6</sup> but this is the first time that much more than an indication of the ground plan has been found. The presence of this fine block gave hope that more of the relief from the chapel might be found, and consequently the area of our clearing was again enlarged, this time west-

<sup>5</sup> The pyramid of Tety at Sakḳāreh (Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, vol. I, p. 8).

<sup>6</sup> The pyramid of Se'n-Wosret II at el Lāhūn (Petrie and Brunton, *Lahun II*, p. 5).

ward as far as we could expect any fragments to have strayed.

We did find more fragments of the relief, though none so large or so interesting as the first one. Most of them came from a part of the decoration situated higher up on the wall. The relief, on which some of the color remained, consisted of pictured offerings and a *kheker* border, which usually appears just below the ceiling in such chambers.

More exciting were a number of blocks from the exterior architecture of the chapel which will enable us to make a fairly sure restoration of the appearance of this building in its relation to the pyramid.

of the cavetto it was carved in the form of the elbows of an animal. The modeling was not very finished and led to the supposition that the head and paws of the gargoyle, for such it evidently had been, were also rather summarily executed. What was our delight when we found the head to realize that it was a really superb example of animal sculpture (figs. 6, 7). The forelegs of this lion gargoyle either have been destroyed or remain to be found.

Fragments of the relief and cornice blocks had been turning up in the lowest layer of the débris above the pavement as far west as we had cleared it, and more was to be ex-



FIG. 6. GARGOYLE FROM THE ENTRANCE CHAPEL

The first to be exposed were great blocks from the cornice (fig. 5). They are well preserved and provide an admirable example of the simple torus and cavetto which constitute the classical Egyptian cornice (fig. 8). Developed during the Fourth Dynasty, this feature remained the most characteristic element of Egyptian architecture throughout the remainder of its history. The large blocks were entirely plain, but small fragments were incised with the common feather pattern. Perhaps only the front of the chapel had been decorated, or possibly the ornamentation of the building had not been completed.

Among the blocks was an incomplete one in the upper part of which a channel had been cut. Its sides showed that it had interrupted the cornice, and below the curves

pected beyond the limit of our cut in the mound. By this time, however, we had become involved in another piece of work and had to give up, for the season at least, the prospect of finding all that remained of the entrance chapel.

Our clearing had extended north of the limestone inclosure wall. This, we found, had been almost entirely hauled away by the quarrymen, and with one exception only meager fragments of the relief panels<sup>7</sup> turned up among the limestone chip. A large block from the bottom course of the wall had apparently split up when it was dislodged by the quarrymen, and the fragments had been left in favor of better stone. The block which had been discarded chanced to be decorated with the figure of the Nile

<sup>7</sup> BULLETIN, April, 1933, Section II, p. 4.

god Ḥa'py bearing offerings, which forms the lowest section of the decorative panels of the inclosure wall (fig. 9).

#### THE MAŠTABAH OF SE'N-WOSRET-ANKH

The desert surrounding the South Pyramid at Lisht has the characteristic brown color of the dark flints which predominate in its surface. This is practically level except where the erosion of past geological periods has left its traces in the beginnings of dry water courses leading down to the valley. In strong contrast to this gentle aspect of the landscape are the more recent traces of man's activity: the pyramid itself, the larger tombs, and the remains of the inclosure and temples. The contrast is not alone in form but also in color, for the limestone of which these erections were built has left its whiteness against the dark background. Of minor works, too, vestiges remain, but a practised eye is required to recognize them for what they once were.

During the seasons spent by the expedition at Lisht some of these less important outlying evidences of human occupation have been investigated with varying results. Several mounds were found to be, not superstructures of tombs, but piles of débris from the leveling of the courts around the pyramid; patches of white limestone turned out to have been, not maštābahs, but "dressing stations" where the stonemasons had shaped the blocks which went into the building of the pyramid and its dependencies.

So often had we been disappointed by the result of such investigations that it was with some misgivings as to the wisdom of our course that we tried again this year. The constricted area of our main work on the north side of the pyramid did not for the time being permit more than half our gang of workmen to be employed there, so we looked about for promising places where the rest could be set to work. One of these spots lay at a considerable distance east of the pyramid, at the edge of the plateau north of the line of the causeway (fig. 10). Here the surface of the desert showed encouraging signs. Not only were there traces both of brick dust and of limestone, but shallow craters disclosed the presence of pits and the

general level of the ground indicated that there might have been superstructures.

The work began with trenches at the edge of the plateau, where the disposal of



FIG. 7. THE LION'S HEAD FROM THE GARGOYLE

our débris presented no problem. We soon came on traces of the foundations of brick walls of such a size that we were sure that a structure of considerable proportions had existed there. Pottery of the Twelfth Dy-



FIG. 8. A SECTION OF THE CORNICE SET UP

nasty and of Roman date indicated that we should have to deal with two periods. Complete clearance of the area seemed advisable and that implied the use of a railway.

In leveling the ground for the tracks we quite unexpectedly made a discovery which gave us at once the name of the individual



whose tomb we were clearing and a good idea of his importance. What we had found, barely below the surface, was the lintel of the doorway to a tomb (fig. 11). Beautifully cut in black granite, it is inscribed in incised hieroglyphs painted green with a text unusually appropriate to the purpose of a tomb entrance (fig. 12).



FIG. 9. A NILE-GOD PANEL FROM THE LIMESTONE INCLOSURE WALL

The block combines the two elements of the Egyptian door lintel, the "roll," derived perhaps from a log of wood or from the tied-up curtain of an early type of house, and the lintel proper, a flat narrow member which actually bore the weight of the wall above the doorway. The roll bears two priestly titles of the owner and his name twice repeated in the usual symmetrical arrangement. The name, Se'n-Wosret-'ankh, is of the fairly common type in which the name of the ruling king is compounded with the verb 'ankh, "to live." On the upper part


of the lintel the same symmetry is observed. The inscription reads outward from the center, beginning with a title followed by the name and the texts. On the left half (the southern half, since the door faced east) we read: "O *Sem*-priest Se'n-Wosret-'ankh, mayest thou go in by the southern gate and stand therein like a god!" Opposed to this is the text: "O *Imy-is*-priest Se'n-Wosret-'ankh, mayest thou come out by the northern gate and sit therein like an elder!"<sup>1</sup>

The similarity and, at the same time, contrast of the ideas expressed, their literary quality, their appositeness in relation to the doorway of the tomb and the anticipated state of its owner in the after world, make this lintel an extraordinary document.

We had little hope of finding the jambs of the doorway. Small chips of relief had already shown us that the building on this site, like the immediate surroundings of the pyramid, had been used as a quarry. This was, indeed, what we had expected, for its close proximity to the valley would have made it one of the first buildings of the cemetery to be plundered for stone. In all probability it was only the unwieldy shape of the lintel that prevented it from being carried off. Presumably the jambs had been, if not quite rectangular, at any rate much more suitable for use as doorsills or lintels in the construction of houses in the villages of the cultivated plain.

The granite lintel proved that we were on the track of a worth-while tomb, for although the titles of Se'n-Wosret-'ankh as far as we then knew them gave little indication of his rank, the high quality of the workmanship and the singularity of the inscription suggested a personality above the ordinary run of Egyptian officials.

Clearing soon revealed the core of a large mastabah entirely denuded of its casing, fragments of which showed that it had been decorated with elaborate recessing and false doors. About it there had been a limestone inclosure wall and beyond that a brick wall of massive proportions.

<sup>1</sup> The unusual adverbial phrase  is taken to be not plural, but dual, and to refer to the doors, or rather to the pair of leaves of each of the two doors.



## THE EGYPTIAN EXPEDITION 1932-1933

Between the two walls were numerous burial shafts which had been most thoroughly plundered and were producing practically nothing. It was not until, on December 20, the workmen began to clear a curious pit just south of the mastabah, between it and the limestone wall, that things began to look up again. The burial shafts of the period are always rectangular, but this pit

the modeling of the torso is admirable (fig. 14). It is in all probability a statue of Se'n-Wosret-'ankh which had once stood in the mastabah chapel.

The clearing of the pit proceeded for about a meter and then was interrupted, this time by the burial of a child. The pottery with it was of a type of which we have found little in this cemetery, for it belongs



FIG. 10. VIEW LOOKING NORTHEAST FROM THE PYRAMID. THE ARROW SHOWS THE POSITION OF THE MASTABAH OF SE'N-WOSRET-'ANKH

was roughly circular and oddly small (A in the plans, figs. 13, 19).

The mouth of the pit was filled with broken stone as a result of the destruction of the mastabah casing, and not far down in this accidental fill lay part of a life-sized limestone statue. It had been a seated figure wearing the broad wig and the short kilt, or apron, customary for cult statues in this period. Only the part from the waist up was found, the rectangular block of the base with the legs having presumably been carried away for building stone at the time of quarrying. The two hands had been knocked off and lay among the limestone chip surrounding the statue. The face of this figure is unfortunately somewhat battered, but

to the very end of the Twelfth Dynasty or is possibly even later. At a depth of about six meters came the bottom of the pit. Here lay the fragments of three or four inscribed blocks of pink granite. Two of them bear representations of Se'n-Wosret-'ankh seated. Before him is inscribed his name and a long series of titles (figs. 15, 16). Hitherto we had known the owner of the tomb only as a priest, from the not uncommon titles on his door lintel. This new inscription proved that he had held among other offices those of "Priest of Ptah," "Chief of the Artisans of the Two Houses," and "Dean of the College of Scribes." These are the traditional titles of the Chief Priest of Ptah at Memphis, the highest office in the Egyptian

hierarchy at this time. As he was also the "Royal Sculptor and Builder," it is not surprising that he was able to erect for himself so extensive a tomb.

Not far from these fragments was found the head and shoulders of a statuette in yel-

throne, against the front of which, on either side of his legs, had stood the female figures, possibly his wife and daughter. Unfortunately we have only insignificant fragments on which to base this interpretation, for the statue must have been an excellent example



FIG. 11. THE GRANITE LINTEL FROM THE CHAPEL OF THE TOMB OF SE'N-WOSRET-ANKH, AS FOUND

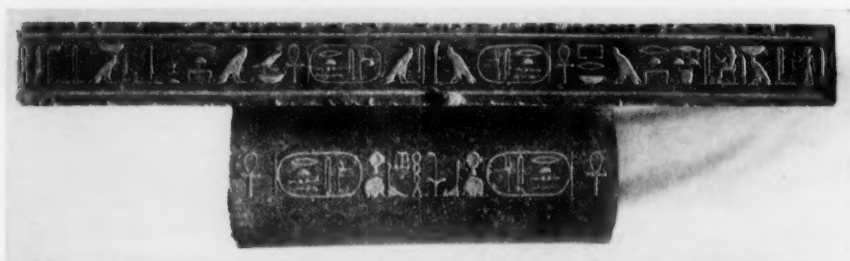


FIG. 12. THE GRANITE LINTEL, SHOWING THE INSCRIPTION

low quartzite of a female figure, which had been part of a group (fig. 17). Nearly a month later, when we were clearing one of the pits (B in the plan, fig. 13) in the court east of the tomb, the lower part of this figure was found and also a companion statuette (fig. 18). In another place, among fragments of larger statues of various sizes and materials, were found pieces of the same quartzite. In the original group a large male figure was seated on the usual rectangular

of the sculptor's art, as the fine modeling of the two smaller figures in this most intractable of materials shows.

From the bottom of the pit a small, low tunnel ran northward, but instead of opening on the meager burial chamber which we might have expected from so small and irregular a shaft, it continued for some five meters. It ended abruptly against a limestone wall through which a narrow slit had been cut. We found to our surprise that we

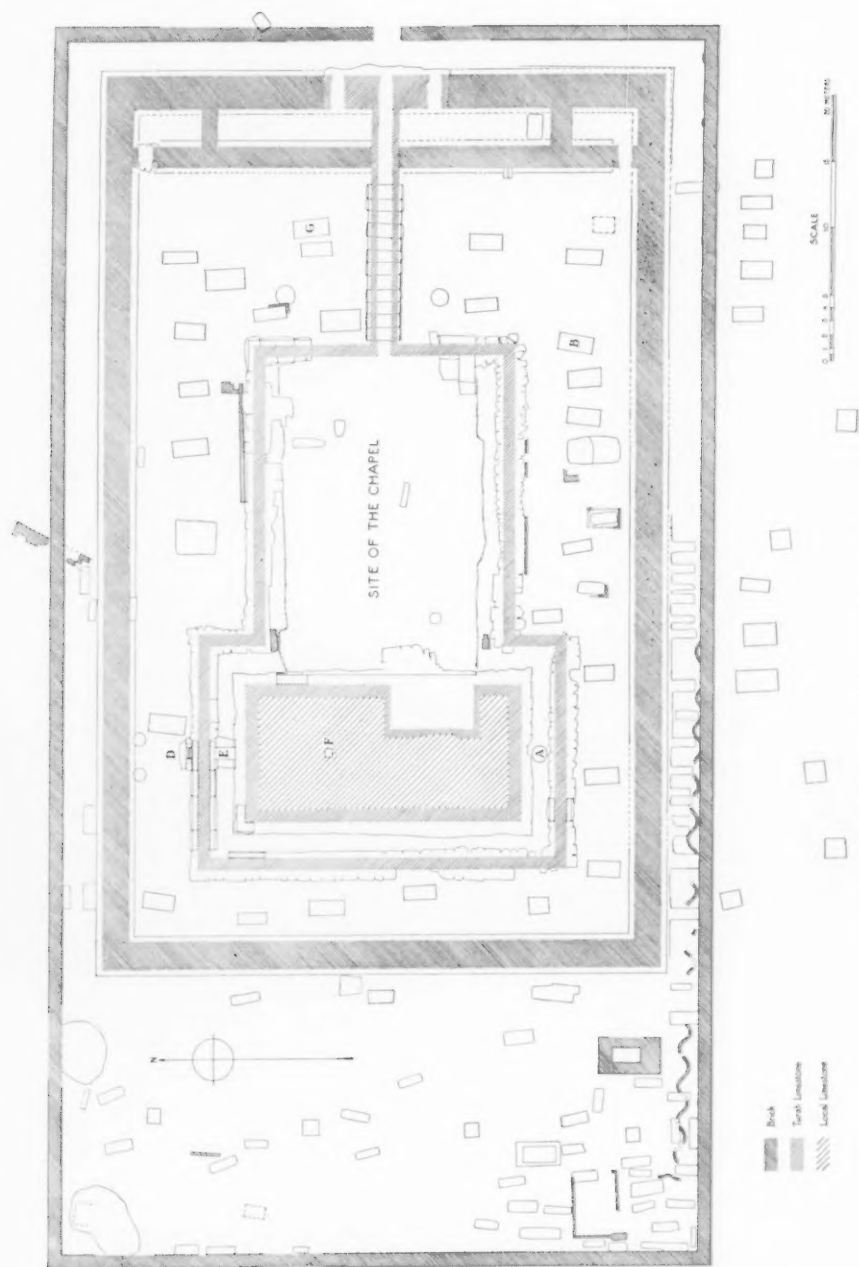


FIG. 13. PLAN OF THE MASTABAH OF SE'N-WOSRET-'ANKH

had been blindly following in the footsteps of the ancient plunderers and had reached the burial chamber of Se'n-Wosret-'ankh himself. It was quite a squeeze getting through the break, and when our torches lit up the room we had another surprise. The chamber walls, instead of being plain white limestone like those of the larger tombs



FIG. 14. LIMESTONE STATUE OF  
SE'N-WOSRET-'ANKH

hitherto excavated on the site, were completely decorated. To the west on the end wall and adjacent portions of the side walls a series of false doors were brilliant with all the colors of the Egyptian palette (fig. 40). The rest of the walls were entirely covered with closely ranged columns of hieroglyphic texts, blue characters on a white ground (fig. 41). The ceiling was decorated with large blue stars.

When we first entered the chamber, by the back door so to speak, it was piled high with débris. Not until much later did we

learn its details, but a description at this point is advisable (see plan and section, fig. 19). The chamber is five and a half meters long and a little more than half as wide, its axis being east and west. A space nearly a meter and a half wide at the western end is divided from the rest of the chamber by a sort of coping behind which the floor is sunk to a depth of one meter. This recess contained the coffin of the deceased. There had been no stone sarcophagus, but the walls of the recess had been lined with blocks of quartzite to the level of the coping and on this had been laid four slabs of stone carved to resemble the curved lid of a sarcophagus (fig. 21). The underside of this lid was also carved in low relief to give the effect of a gabled ceiling lined with rush matting (fig. 20). The coping and lid were intended to look like a sarcophagus filling the west end of the chamber.

In the floor of the chamber near the south end of this sarcophagus is another recess, square, and sunk below the level of the floor (C in the plan, fig. 19). Here the Canopic box had been deposited. This recess, too, had been lined with quartzite blocks. It had apparently been one of the last places to be searched by the plunderers, who left it empty after they had ripped out most of the lining. It happens to be situated just below the break in the south wall (fig. 22) and was a sort of booby trap for us when we came feet first through the break and found no footing just as we were in the most precarious position.

In the southeast corner of the chamber a door opens on a small, undecorated offering chamber.

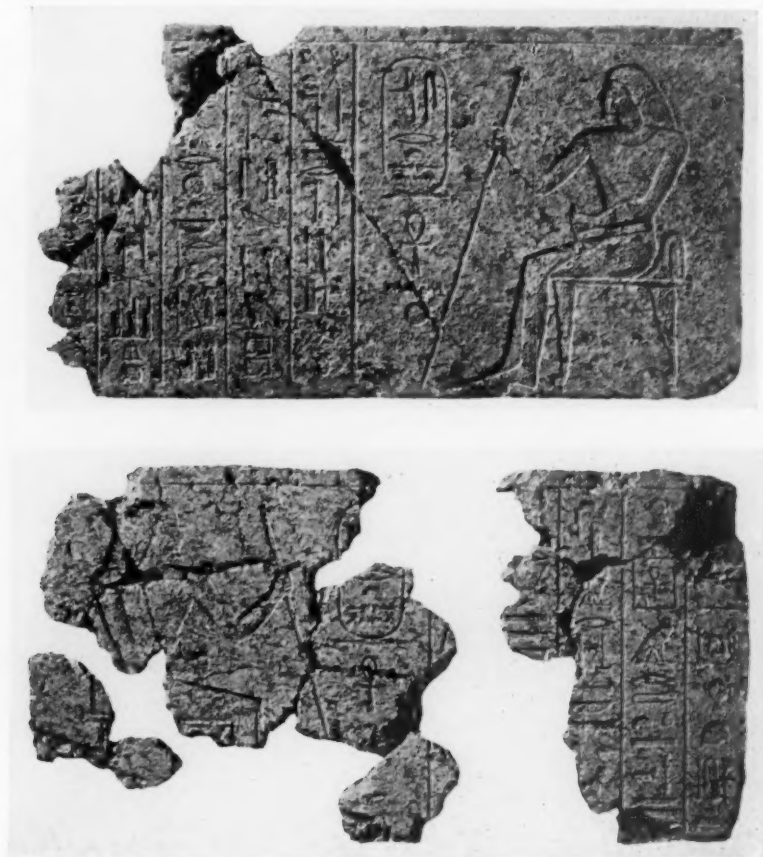
The entrance to the burial chamber, situated in the north wall near its eastern end, is a low doorway, its jambs inscribed with columns of texts like those on the walls of the chamber itself.

The plunderers' break through the south wall resulted in the destruction of a part of the texts carved in its surface. Similar damage was caused by their making a sounding through the north wall where they apparently thought a secret recess might be situated. Fortunately all but the smallest of these fragments were recovered in the course of clearing the chambers, and it was

possible for Hayes to rebuild them into their original places (see figs. 40, 42) and to restore the inscriptions with no lacunae whatever. He has described the texts elsewhere in this report.

Four portcullises had originally guarded

impossible to clear the débris piled on the floor of the burial chamber and in the sarcophagus recess through the plunderers' break in the south wall without damaging the inscriptions. We therefore concentrated our work on the original entrance to the



FIGS. 15, 16. INSCRIBED BLOCKS BEARING THE TITLES OF SE'N-WOSRET-'ANKH

the entrance to the chamber, and when we discovered it three of them had their heavy slabs still in working order. So precariously had these been propped up by the plunderers (fig. 23) that when we crawled under them we felt like aristocrats under the blade of the guillotine and decided to postpone minuter investigations of this part of the tomb until we could approach it from the original entrance and fix the slabs more securely in their slides. It was, moreover,

underground part of the tomb, which had by this time been found.

This entrance was situated on the north side of the mastabah under the north face of the limestone inclosure wall, below pavement level. The blocking of the outer doorway was intact (fig. 24; at D in the plan, fig. 13) but the ceiling blocks of the upper part of the passage, where it passed under the pavement between the inclosure wall and the body of the mastabah, had been re-



moved (fig. 26; at E in figs. 13, 19).

Here, it seemed certain, the plunderers had made their first attack on the *maṣtabah*, but as we cleared out the *débris* left in the passage by them, or by the quarrymen after them, we soon realized why they had made the pit and tunnel to the south of the *maṣtabah*. The sloping part of the passage had been tightly packed with large rough blocks of stone, chips, and sand. Our own men spent several days of arduous labor in removing what had effectually

and then hauling it up a steep slope we inspected the top of the *maṣtabah* to see if the solution of the problem was there. Sure enough, a slight depression in the thin surface *débris* covering the superstructure marked the spot vertically above the bottom of the sloping passage. Clearing here soon brought to light the mouth of a rectangular shaft, less than two feet square,



FIGS. 17, 18. FIGURES FROM THE FRONT OF THE THRONE OF A LIFE-SIZED STATUE

halted the plunderers. They finally got to the bottom of the slope, and we had just begun to think how much easier it would be to get to the burial chamber through the original entrance than through the plunderers' pit and break when we were stopped again, this time by stone and sand pouring down from above in an unending stream.

That was a puzzler, for nothing in our previous experience had led us to anticipate anything of the sort and the *maṣtabah* was so well built that there was no question of any collapse of the superstructure into the underground rooms.

As there was no economy in allowing *débris* to pour down into the bottom of a hole

built in the *maṣtabah* core. The smallest workman in the gang was assigned to clear it, and as he went down the dimensions of the shaft increased until its section became a square equal to the width of the sloping passage (F in plans, figs. 13, 19).

This "chimney" is a feature entirely unexampled in known Egyptian tombs. The impression on the visitor who has slid down the sloping passage is that of a light shaft dissipating the increasing gloom. There can, however, be no question that it had been filled when the tomb was sealed after the burial of the owner and that its purpose had been to do just what it did to us—discourage anyone who might have accomplished

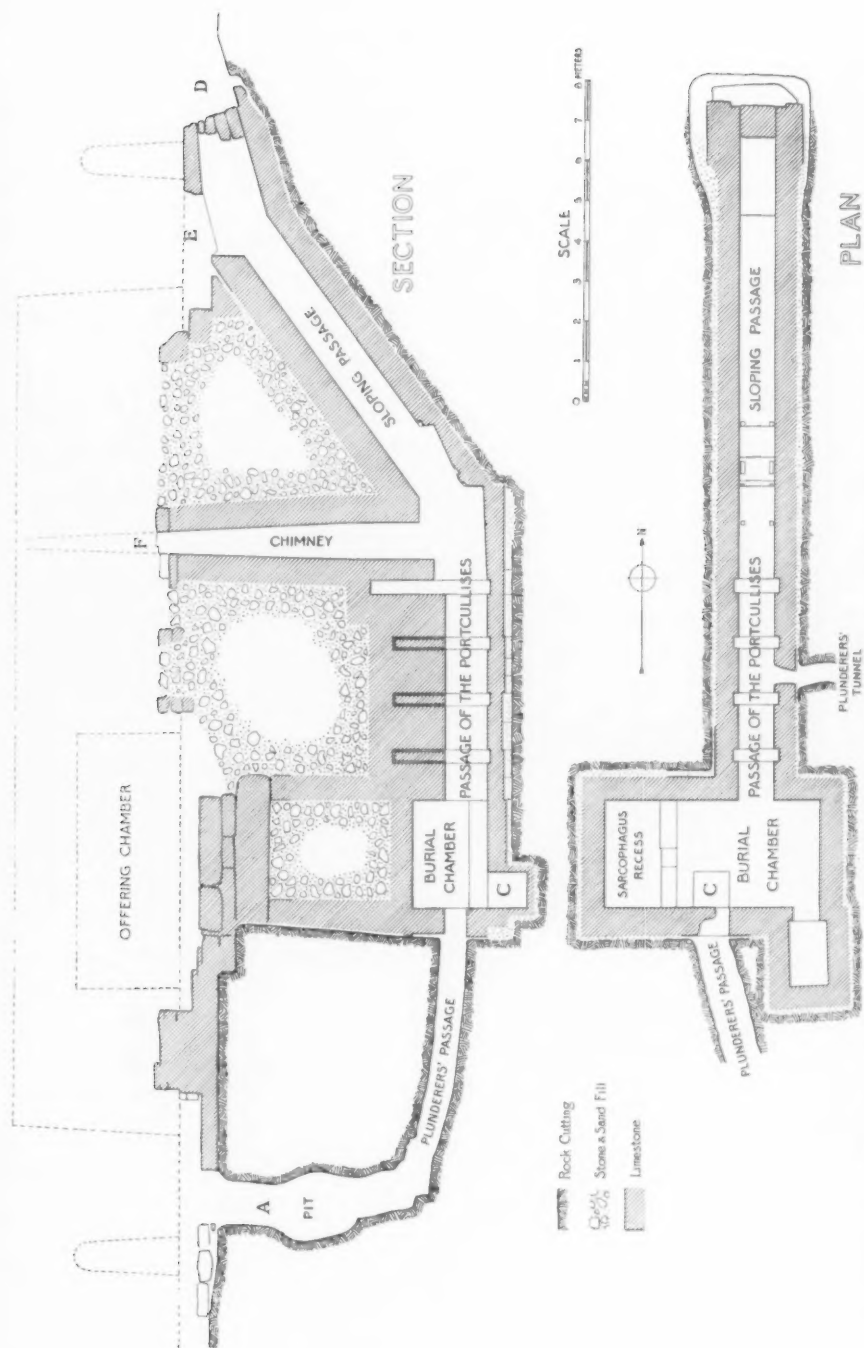


FIG. 10. THE TOMB OF SE'N-WOSRET-'ANKH. LONGITUDINAL SECTION THROUGH THE MASTABAH AND THE UNDERGROUND CHAMBERS AND PLAN OF THE LATTER

the back-breaking work of clearing the descending passage.

As a matter of fact the plunderers never did penetrate the sloping passage. It is practically certain that the order of the different steps in the robbing of the tomb is as follows: 1, the breaking into the passage through the paving north of the maṣṭabah; 2, the abandonment of the attempt to clear the sloping part of the passage; 3, the dig-

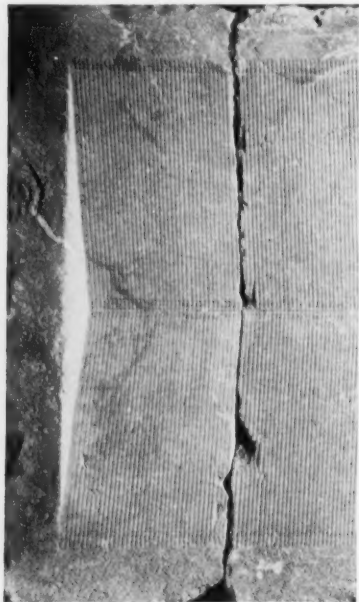


FIG. 20. UNDERSIDE OF PART OF THE SARCOPHAGUS LID

ging of the pit and tunnel south of the maṣṭabah; 4, the breaking into the burial chamber through its south wall; 5, the plundering of the sarcophagus and coffin; 6, the search for further booty.

It would seem that the original plunderers were not satisfied with what they found in the burial chamber. They, or perhaps later parties, made a more painstaking search, testing all likely quarters throughout the tomb. The sounding through the north wall of the burial chamber and the ripping out of the lining in the sarcophagus recess and the Canopic niche have been spoken of. In addition two soundings were made in the walls of the small offering

chamber. The three portcullises nearest the burial chamber were raised in the course of the thieves' exploration of the passage. A break was made through the east wall of this passage and a tunnel nearly three meters long cut in the bedrock. A hole was cut through the floor of the passage and a burrow made for some distance under the slabs which formed it. The portcullis furthest from the chamber was smashed, apparently because the weight of the fill in the "chimney" prevented its being lifted. The "chimney" was cleared from the top<sup>2</sup> in order to make certain that its fill was not protecting the door of a subsidiary chamber. Considering how thoroughly the plunderers had done their work, it is only surprising that they had not completely cleared the sloping part of the passage.

The result of this active search on the part of the robbers meant, of course, that our pickings were very small indeed. Parts of the inlay from the eye panel of a rectangular coffin, a few beads, and some fragments of pottery were all that remained. It is an interesting point that all the bowls were blackened by having been used as lamps by the plunderers.

The design of the passage to the burial chamber in the tomb of Se'n-Wosret-anekh is most unusual, and it may be well to describe it in a more logical order than the one dictated by the successive steps of its clearance (see plan and section, fig. 19). The entrance had been completely hidden by filling in the outer court, between the brick inclosure wall and the limestone wall, to the level of the latter's water table. The blocking was intact when we found it—in itself an interesting fact, but we should scarcely have hoped for an un plundered tomb even if we had come upon it before clearing the plunderers' pit. The upper part of the passage has a very slight downward slope and extends southward for about two meters to the point where the steeper descent begins.

The angle of this part of the passage is nearly thirty-seven degrees from the horizontal. The slope is the hypotenuse of a triangle with a base of four units and a vertical side of three, and it must have been by

<sup>2</sup> As shown by the footholds cut in the masonry.

using this figure that the passage was laid out.<sup>3</sup> The floor of the passage does not run in a straight line to the bottom but ends in two large "steps" which puzzled us for a long time (see the section in fig. 19). Sockets cut in the floor (fig. 27) and the slant of the intermediate step gave us the clue. The ancient Egyptians were accustomed to moving heavy blocks of stone on rollers. This is not a difficult task if the surface on which the rollers move is smooth and continuous. Lowering such a block down a sloping way, once the rollers have been introduced, is simply a matter of holding it back with ropes to prevent it from going too fast. But when the sloping plane meets a horizontal one and the block begins to

be rolled onto the lower pair of beams, where the operation of sawing off the beam ends was repeated. In this way the angle of the block was changed from that of the sloping passage to that of the horizontal passage without any of the rollers ever losing contact with it.

The "chimney" has been described above. Its lower end is situated immediately in front of the first (north) portcullis, which was smashed by the plunderers. All four portcullises (see fig. 23) were of the same design, rectangular limestone slabs, though the first one was higher and slightly thicker, to judge by the height of the passage at this point and by the grooves in which it moved. It was fortunate that the slab of this first



FIG. 21. LID OF THE SARCOPHAGUS OF SE'N-WOSRET-'ANKH

change its angle the rollers all become disengaged and the block sticks fast.

The architect of the tomb, probably Se'n-Wosret-'ankh himself, designed the passage to obviate this difficulty. The four upper sockets were cut in order to receive the ends of a pair of beams which would continue the slope of the passage; two beams set in the lower sockets would extend the plane of the intermediate step until it met the floor of the horizontal part of the passage. The heavy block (in this case one of the four sections of the sarcophagus lid) was allowed to roll down and was held in place when it arrived over the upper pair of beams. The ends of the beams set in the upper sockets were then sawed off and beams and block dropped until they rested on the intermediate step. The block was then in position to

portcullis was missing, for we should not otherwise have seen a locking device designed to prevent the opening of the portcullis once it had been closed (fig. 25). In the grooves in which the slab had moved and just above the level of its top when it was lowered there had been cut holes at an angle of about forty-five degrees. They had undoubtedly housed bolts of metal or of hardwood which were held in place by the slab itself when the portcullis was open but which dropped down when the slab was lowered into place after Se'n-Wosret-'ankh had been buried. The angle is such that if an attempt were made to raise the slab the bolts would not return into their sockets but would bind and thus prevent the opening of the passage. It would be impossible to determine whether the other three portcullises are provided with such locks without smashing them or digging out seven meters of fill above them.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Arguments against their being so equipped

<sup>3</sup> This slope makes it seem likely that the principle of the three, four, five triangle was known and perhaps used by the builders in order to lay out right angles.

In his account of the inscriptions in the burial chamber Hayes calls attention to the fact that it is most unusual to find nothing but royal, Old Kingdom Pyramid Texts, for such they are, in a private, Middle Kingdom tomb.

With the transfer of the capital from Thebes to the Memphite district at the be-

ginning of the Twelfth Dynasty there came a return to the Memphite tradition, and nowhere is this more evident than in the burial customs of the dynasty. The tombs of the kings were pyramids and the mortuary temples were modeled on those of their predecessors of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties. The officials intrusted with the task of constructing the royal tombs doubtless visited the earlier pyramids, made plans of

their temples,<sup>5</sup> copied scenes from their decorated walls, and, in short, did a lot of "research." They were, as a matter of fact, archaeologists.

It is not improbable that Se'n-Wosret-ankh, perhaps as a young man, was engaged in this work. He may have been a member of the Memphite school of scribes to whose headship he succeeded before his death. At any rate his tomb shows a distinct familiarity with the royal burial customs of



FIG. 22. THE PLUNDERERS' BREAK IN THE SOUTH WALL OF THE BURIAL CHAMBER

are that they were raised by the plunderers, apparently without difficulty, while the first was smashed, though this may have been due to the weight of the fill in the "chimney." See above, p. 16. To judge by its greater size, the first porticulis was considered the most important.



FIG. 23. THE PASSAGE TO THE BURIAL CHAMBER—THE THIRD AND FOURTH PORTICULISES PROPPED UP BY THE PLUNDERERS

the Old Kingdom, and since it is so unusual in many respects, there is every reason to suppose that he himself superintended its design and construction.

Except for the fact that its outward form is a *maṣtabah* instead of a pyramid it might be taken for the tomb of a king rather than that of a private individual. The porticulises guarding the passage to the burial chamber are typical of the pyramids of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties; the inscriptions

<sup>5</sup> Compare for example the plan of the pyramid temple of Se'n-Wosret I (BULLETIN, March, 1926, Part II, fig. 4) with that of Pepy II (Jéquier, *Annales du Service*, vol. XXVIII [1928], p. 56 and pl. I), the last important king of the VI Dynasty and the one whose temple was probably the best preserved.



in the burial chamber are texts whose use as a group, before the Middle Kingdom, was confined to the royal dead.

But Se'n-Wosret-'ankh was no mere imitator of older fashions. In arranging for the well-being of his soul he did adopt wholesale the funerary texts of the earlier kings, but in his preoccupation for the safety of his body he improved on the conventional portcullis by using, perhaps inventing, the locking device described above. The "chimney,"

of the tomb are in an excellent state of preservation, but that is not the case above ground. Here all the stonework has been despoiled and the brickwork has been eroded by wind and rain. Foundations of walls—sometimes only the rock cuttings for the foundations—are practically the sole evidence for restoring the original plan of the dependencies of the maṣṭabah.

The maṣṭabah proper, its core being built of local stone instead of fine white lime-



FIG. 24. THE MAṢṬABAH OF SE'N-WOSRET-'ANKH. VIEW LOOKING SOUTH SHOWING THE BLOCKING OF THE DOOR

designed likewise to protect the sepulcher, may have been an innovation of his also.<sup>6</sup> The steps at the bottom of the sloping passage which were intended to facilitate the moving of heavy blocks of stone demonstrate the inventiveness of the engineer.<sup>7</sup>

The subterranean passages and chambers

<sup>6</sup> The "chimney" resembles to some extent the shafts down which "portcullis" blocks were let from the upper surface of the maṣṭabah in the great III Dynasty tomb at Beit Khallāf (Garstang, *Mahasna and Bêt Khallāf*, pl. VII), but such a purpose is impossible here since the opening at the top was originally very small.

<sup>7</sup> Assuming Se'n-Wosret-'ankh to have been the architect of his tomb, one is tempted, in view of the originality of its design and of the fact that he was "Royal Sculptor and Builder," to see in him the inventor of the caisson (see *BULLETIN*, April, 1933, Section II, pp. 16, 17).

stone, has not suffered so much, and its original dimensions, with the exception of its height, can be determined with a fair degree of certainty. It was normal in its proportions and orientation, its north and south length being twenty-one meters and its width ten and a half meters.<sup>8</sup> Its casing was like that of some of the Old Kingdom maṣṭabahs, for instead of being smooth it was recessed so as to produce the effect of a series of false doors. Fragments of casing stones cut in this fashion were found on all sides of the maṣṭabah. So far as can be made out the scheme consisted of wide, deeply cut "doors" alternating with narrower panels. They appear to have been for the most part

<sup>8</sup> In the Egyptian system an even forty by twenty cubits.

undecorated, the only traces of elaboration being a few fragments showing in relief the traditional pair of papyrus umbels tied together by the stems. The recessed casing clothed the core of the maṣṭabah on the north, west, and south sides completely and extended around the corners to the east face, where it was interrupted by the chapel, which was evidently built against it (see plan, fig. 13).

The extent of this building can only be assumed, for even the foundations have been completely removed except where they merge with the platform of the maṣṭabah.

of the painted relief may be ascertained, but little can be deduced as regards the subject matter of the scenes. We were fortunate in recovering one chip with the Horus name of Se'n-Wosret I, the only definite piece of evidence for the date of the owner of the tomb. The Se'n-Wosret in his name, so far as we could otherwise judge, might have referred to any one of three kings of the dynasty.

The complete disappearance of the reliefs from the chapel was disappointing, but we were somewhat more fortunate in regard to the sculpture. Only fragments were recovered, but these showed that there had been

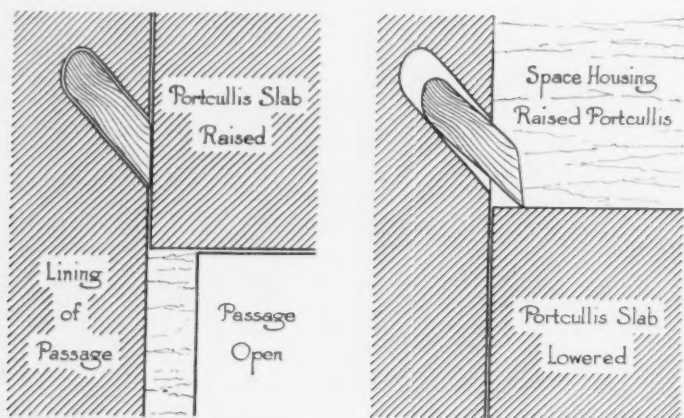


FIG. 25. DIAGRAM OF THE DEVICE WHICH LOCKED THE SLAB OF THE FIRST PORTCULLIS WHEN IT WAS LET DOWN. SCALE 1:10

As to its plan even guesswork would be difficult. The only feature about which we can be certain is that the location of the innermost chamber was south of the axis of the chapel and that it projected into the body of the maṣṭabah. Here the masonry of the maṣṭabah core clearly shows that a room was incorporated in it in a position over the burial chamber. It was in this chamber, doubtless, that the more important services, calculated to sustain the deceased Se'n-Wosret-anḫ in his after life, were performed.

The chapel had been decorated, but practically all of the relief had disappeared, only some of those chips remaining which had flaked off the limestone blocks when the building was torn down by the quarrymen. From these small fragments the excellence

several life-sized statues and that they had been made of a variety of materials. The limestone and quartzite figures have been described. In addition there had been a statue of red granite and at least one of black granite. The fragments were found, for the most part, gathered together in a hollow in the rock not far from the center of the chapel area. The lower part of a second black granite statue, probably a companion piece to the other figure of this material, was found in a pit south of the inclosure.

Maṣṭabah and chapel had been surrounded by an inclosure wall of limestone slightly less than a meter thick. A space nearly three meters wide separated this wall from the maṣṭabah, and we may suppose that the same narrow court lay between it and the north and south sides of the chapel.

In that case the width of the latter was twelve and a half meters. On the east, however, the limestone inclosure and the east façade of the chapel seem to have been a single wall.

A heavier wall two meters thick, built of mud brick, inclosed the complex of limestone buildings in a simple rectangle. At its eastern end were four rooms, doubtless for the accommodation of priests or guards. Outside this heavy wall a second brick wall,



FIG. 26. THE PLUNDERERS' ENTRANCE INTO THE UPPER PART OF THE PASSAGE

of lighter construction, constituted a third inclosure. It was built fairly close to the thick wall except on the west, where it includes an area forty-eight by twenty-one meters in extent. This wall forms the outer limit of the precinct reserved for Se'n-Wosret-'ankh.

The irregularly shaped area lying between the limestone wall and the heavy brick inclosure and the rectangle situated west of the latter contain thirty-four burial shafts, most of which seem to have belonged to contemporaries of Se'n-Wosret-'ankh. None of them were intact, but among the objects left by the plunderers were some of considerable interest. In one

pit (G in the plan, fig. 13) a limestone statue about seventy centimeters high was found (fig. 28). It is practically complete and represents, according to the inscription, "the steward 'Au," doubtless a man who was intrusted with the oversight of one of the estates belonging to Se'n-Wosret-'ankh. Another steward has his name, Kay, preserved on a pleasing statuette of black



FIG. 27. THE SLOPING PASSAGE VIEWED FROM THE BOTTOM

granite (fig. 29). Of a similar granite figure, a very fine piece of workmanship, only the upper part remains (fig. 30). A third statuette, of limestone, painted and inscribed but nameless, is not of such good quality (fig. 31). These objects, found in the surface debris, had undoubtedly been thrown out from pits by the plunderers.

In similar conditions were found a number of curious mud tablets which seem to represent human beings since they have human faces however grotesque, together with a coffin-shaped mud box which had contained some of them (fig. 32). The figures all have short hieratic inscriptions in

red ink which are most difficult to read. They probably are magical texts directed against a series of evils.

In one of the pits was found a pleasing group of pottery. In the Twelfth Dynasty the burying of model jars of terracotta together with pottery of the size in daily use was common. This group contains pots



FIG. 28. STATUE OF THE STEWARD 'AU

which reproduce in miniature the shapes of the larger jars (fig. 34). The form of the wide-mouthed jar is most unusual. The pots are decorated with black bands on a polished red ground.

The later history of the site is not without interest. Toward the end of the Middle Kingdom, after it had been despoiled, it became a cemetery used by a poorer class of people. Their graves had been dug in the surface débris and did not go deeper than a few centimeters into the rock. The coffins were of poor quality, made up of thin boards for the most part patched together.

The dating of these burials was difficult, for practically no pottery had been buried with them. The only definite clue was a cylindrical bead inscribed with the name of Amen-em-hēt III, who ruled late in the Twelfth Dynasty. Another burial produced a delightful group of strings of beads (fig. 33) and toilet vessels in a small toilet basket. A child's coffin had in it a wooden comb (fig. 35).

It is to this second occupation of the site as a cemetery that the child's burial in the plunderers' pit belongs.<sup>9</sup> It is impossible to



FIG. 29. STATUETTE OF THE STEWARD KAY

say how long the pit had lain open before this burial was made, but it is definite proof that the plundering of the burial chamber of the mastabah took place at some time before the end of the dynasty. The presence of the fragmentary granite blocks at the bottom of the same pit shows that the despoiling of the upper part of the mastabah had already begun, but to judge by the fill above the burial, the active quarrying away of the fine limestone did not take place until after the end of the dynasty, when the power of the Middle Kingdom declined. As this evidence shows, all the precautions which Se'n-Wosret-ankh took to safeguard his tomb were effective for only a short time.

<sup>9</sup> See above, p. 11.

Most of the burials of this second occupation were disturbed in their turn by plunderers, and then the site lay unused for centuries—until after the beginning of the Christian era. At that time, though the date

linen used on the bodies and the astonishingly high padding over the faces (figs. 36, 37).

Besides the clearance of the mastabah of Se'n-Wosret-'ankh another small piece of



FIG. 30. UPPER PART OF A GRANITE STATUETTE



FIG. 31. PAINTED LIMESTONE STATUETTE



FIG. 32. MAGICAL FIGURES AND BOX

cannot be fixed with certainty, another community began using it for the burial of their dead. These Copts (the one inscription found, a grave stela, was in Coptic) were apparently also of the poorer class. The graves were shallow and the linen used was poor, but the bandaging was in most cases quite elaborate. The outstanding characteristic of the burials was the small amount of

work was done on an outlying portion of the South Pyramid cemetery. In 1894-1895 the French excavators had investigated a large mastabah situated north of the royal inclosure<sup>10</sup> and in 1908 our expedition had recovered the gray granite sarcophagus and Canopic chest from its burial chamber,<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Gauthier Jéquier, *Fouilles de Licht*, p. 67.

<sup>11</sup> Acc. no. 09.180.528.



but the site occupied by the maṣṭabah had never been thoroughly cleared and there was a chance that something good might have been overlooked. The digging there turned out to be a most tantalizing experience. The workmen began to find fragments of an inscription which quite evidently related the personal history of an individual—at least that part of it which had to do with his service under the kings who ruled during his lifetime (fig. 38). Reference is made in this document to four separate kings, but the name of the last one only is preserved—Amen-em-hēt I, the first king of the Twelfth Dynasty. The names of the kings at the latter end of the Eleventh Dynasty are known, but the order of their rule is not quite certain. Here we had part of an inscription which, if complete, would without doubt have settled that problem and which might even have given a clue to the reason for moving the capital from Thebes to Memphis. The clearing was extended far beyond our original intention and more tiny chips of inscription were found, but none which added materially to the story or gave us the slightest fraction of any of the three kings' names.

It was a discouraging business, but our trouble was to some extent repaid by the finding of a wooden box which had been thrown aside during the plundering of a small tomb adjoining the maṣṭabah. When opened it was seen to contain a wig (fig. 39). The human hair of which this had been made was reduced to a powdery state, but the upper layer still preserved the form of the original braids, owing to a resinous substance which had been poured over it.

AMBROSE LANSING.

#### THE TEXTS IN THE BURIAL CHAMBER OF SE'N-WOSRET-'ANKH

The 296 columns of hieroglyphic inscription which completely cover three walls and the door jambs of the burial chamber of Se'n-Wosret-'ankh's maṣṭabah at Lisht (figs. 40, 41) are, with the exception of a single column, Pyramid Texts. That is to say, they are the same texts which are found in the chambers and passages of a series of Old Kingdom royal pyramids at Saqqāreh and which constitute as a whole the earliest

group of religious and funerary literature now extant.<sup>1</sup> These texts first occur in the pyramid of King Unis, the last Pharaoh of the Fifth Dynasty (about 2455–2425 B.C.), appearing thereafter in the pyramid chambers of the leading kings of the Sixth Dynasty—Teti, Pepy I, Mer-en-Rē', and Pepy II (died about 2274 B.C.)—and in that of Queen Neit, the wife of the last-named Pharaoh.<sup>2</sup> They are composed of a series of recitations, or "utterances," including funerary and offering rituals, magical charms, a very ancient ritual of worship, hymns, excerpts from old myths, and prayers on behalf of the deceased monarch. Their principal function is to ensure the welfare and happiness of the king in the hereafter. The major note sounded throughout the series is the insistence upon continued life after death, indeed the definite and earnest repudiation of death altogether.

A study of the great mass of Pyramid Texts that have been published in modern times serves to demonstrate two very important facts concerning them. They were compiled from a variety of very much older religious and funerary recitations, some of which unquestionably date back to a time preceding the beginning of the dynastic era; and they were composed expressly for the use of the Pharaoh himself or of his queen and intended to be used by no other persons. It must also be added that the Pyramid Texts as such are essentially the Old Kingdom collection of religious literature, just as the Coffin Texts and the Book of the Dead—both of which draw freely from them—are standard for the Middle Kingdom and New Kingdom, respectively.

Not only are the texts in the burial chamber of Se'n-Wosret-'ankh's maṣṭabah accurate and unaltered repetitions of the Old Kingdom royal texts, but the order in which

<sup>1</sup> The standard publication is Sethe's *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte*, 4 vols., Leipzig, 1908–1922. For an excellent description of the nature and contents of the texts see Breasted's *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, pp. 84 ff.

<sup>2</sup> This pyramid, discovered in the winter of 1930–1931, is described by Jéquier, *Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte*, vol. XXXI (1931), pp. 36–42. The texts in it are not yet published.

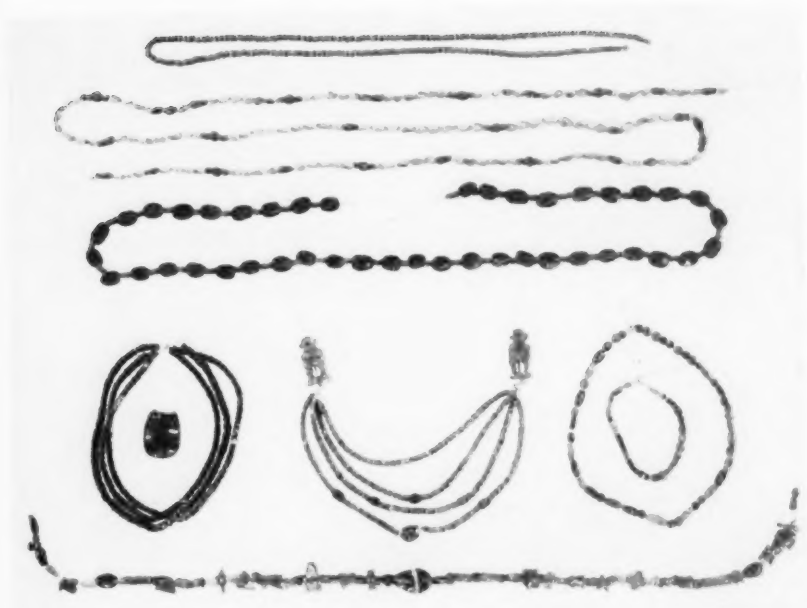


FIG. 33. STRINGS OF BEADS FROM A TOILET BASKET



FIG. 34. A GROUP OF POTTERY

the utterances follow one another, their positions on the walls of the chamber and entrance passage, and the whole arrangement of the chamber itself are also essentially the same as that existing in the Sakḥāreh pyramids.<sup>3</sup> Such a phenomenon, occurring in the tomb of a Twelfth Dynasty official who died three hundred years or more after the completion of the last Sixth Dynasty pyramid, carries with it a number of interesting implications.

In the first place, we must assume that the decorator of the chamber was in possession of a document containing not only an

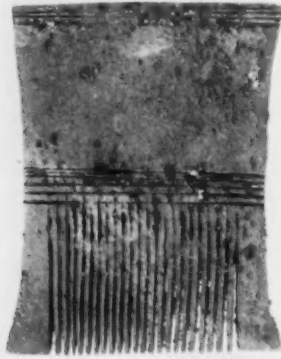


FIG. 35. WOODEN COMB

excellent copy of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasty texts but also full indications as to how the texts were to be distributed around the walls of the chamber and the exact sequence and arrangement in which they were to be applied to the walls. Such details as the position and layout of the offering list on the north wall and the use of the elongated □ sign to inclose each separate utterance and to divide it from its neighbors indicate how complete and faithful to the Old Kingdom prototype these instructions were. The existence of a document of the type described cannot be explained away by supposing that the Se'n-Wosret-'ankh texts and the data on their arrangement were taken directly, in the Twelfth Dynasty, from the walls of any one or all of the pyra-

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Sethe, *op. cit.*, vol. III, pp. 115 ff.

mids at Sakḥāreh<sup>4</sup>; for the series of utterances selected for use in the maṣṭabah under discussion occur all together in no one of the pyramids, do not always adhere in detail to the versions found in the pyramids in which one or the other of them does occur, and contain, in many cases, minor variations (often purer writings) which appear nowhere at all in the pyramids. Details of orthography and palaeography in the Se'n-Wosret-'ankh texts indicate that the manuscript used by the draftsman in laying them out on the walls of the chamber was itself written in the Middle Kingdom; but it is clear that it had been copied—with considerable care as regards the actual contents of the texts—from a very old and very good original. It was presumably written in vertical columns and appears to have been taken from a manuscript prepared for the use of a king.<sup>5</sup>

The great majority of the texts from our tomb occur in the pyramid of King Unis of the Fifth Dynasty, the earliest of the inscribed Old Kingdom pyramids, many of them not being found in the Sixth Dynasty pyramids.<sup>6</sup> The agreement in one instance of the Se'n-Wosret-'ankh version with a phrase originally set out in the pyramid of Unis<sup>7</sup> and later altered there by those in charge of editing the texts on the walls, is highly significant as showing that the version from which these Twelfth Dynasty inscriptions were ultimately taken was in existence before the chambers of King Unis were inscribed. Our copy is not without its corrupt or careless writings, but, on the whole, it is somewhat less at fault in this re-

<sup>4</sup> Situated but a few miles to the north of Lisht and undoubtedly well preserved in the XII Dynasty.

<sup>5</sup> This is witnessed in two instances by the evident confusion of the royal cartouche which forms the first part of the name Se'n-Wosret-'ankh with the cartouche representing the name of a king in the manuscript, with the resultant dropping of the 'ankh from the name of the owner of our maṣṭabah and the immediate juxtaposition of the cartouche and the following word in the text.

<sup>6</sup> It should be noted, however, that in the pyramids of Teti, Pepy I, and Mer-en-Rē most of the once-inscribed north and south walls of their chambers are now destroyed. See Sethe, *op. cit.*, vol. III, pp. 120, 125, 139.

<sup>7</sup> Sethe's "älterer Text" in Utterance 46.

spect than the existing texts in the Sak-kāreh pyramids, and it occasionally presents us with better versions of certain utterances than have hitherto come to light.

We are indebted for the high quality of the texts preserved in this maṣṭabah almost certainly to the owner of the tomb himself. As holder of the leading priestly office at Memphis, as royal sculptor, and, above all, as chief of the college of scribes and librarian of religious writings, Se'n-Wosret-'ankh was preëminently the man capable of obtaining and seeing carefully transferred to the stone walls of his burial chamber so excellent a version of writings composed many centuries before his time. That these texts, in their ancient form, were available in Memphis in the Twelfth Dynasty is indicative of the care and tenacity with which religious and funerary writings were perpetuated and kept intact from age to age in Egypt—especially in view of the two centuries of anarchy and ruin which followed the collapse of the Old Kingdom and which continued until the Eleventh Dynasty, and in the Memphite region probably until the beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty.

The use of standard Old Kingdom texts in the tomb of an official of the court of Se'n-Wosret I is, on the other hand, altogether in keeping with what we have come to expect of the early Twelfth Dynasty at Lisht. Located in the Old Kingdom pyramid area, the site shows in countless ways the whole-hearted following, on the part of the early kings of the dynasty and of their retainers, of old Memphite fashions in mortuary monuments—in sharp contrast to the more or less local Theban practices observed by their immediate predecessors of the Eleventh Dynasty at their capital four hundred miles up the Nile. Pyramids and pyramid temples follow closely the Old Kingdom models; and now we find a private individual abandoning the innovations contained in the Middle Kingdom Coffin Texts, so prominent in the great tombs of the Eleventh Dynasty at Thebes, and adopting in their entirety the versions used by the Pharaohs of the pyramid age. Nor is the Se'n-Wosret-'ankh maṣṭabah unique in this respect; for in the reign of Amen-em-ḥet II, the son and successor of Se'n-Wosret

I, a treasury official named Si-Iset had made for himself at Dahshūr a burial chamber, which, though smaller and following less closely the scheme of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasty originals, carries on its walls 191 columns of pure Pyramid Texts.<sup>8</sup>



FIG. 36. BURIALS OF THE ROMAN PERIOD

The verbatim adoption by a Twelfth Dynasty official of texts composed expressly for a king of Egypt, many of them at a time when the almost legendary victory of the predynastic clans of Upper Egypt over their foes in the Delta was a recent and very real accomplishment, naturally resulted in some incongruities in the Se'n-Wosret-'ankh in-

<sup>8</sup> De Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour en 1894-1895*, pp. 77-85.

scriptions. Thus our priestly scribe is recorded as having devoured the crowns of Lower Egypt,<sup>9</sup> as being crowned with the Great White Crown (of Upper Egypt),<sup>10</sup> as having united the Two Lands,<sup>11</sup> etc. These inconsistencies do not, however, seem to have disturbed the Middle Kingdom copyist and indeed are hardly noticeable in the midst of texts which claim for their deceased subject almost every superhuman and fantastic power conceivable.

Two hundred and sixty-three of the 714 Pyramid Text Utterances hitherto pub-

tions appearing in the *maṣṭabah* of Se'n-Wosret-'ankh include the older and what were obviously considered to be the more important portions of the Pyramid Texts, containing the essential offering list and ritual, much of the funerary ritual, and the outstanding magical charms.

The inscriptions are oriented so as to read away from the sarcophagus recess at the west end of the chamber, that is, away from the eyes of the deceased owner of the tomb as he lay on his left side in the sarcophagus, with his face towards the east.<sup>12</sup>

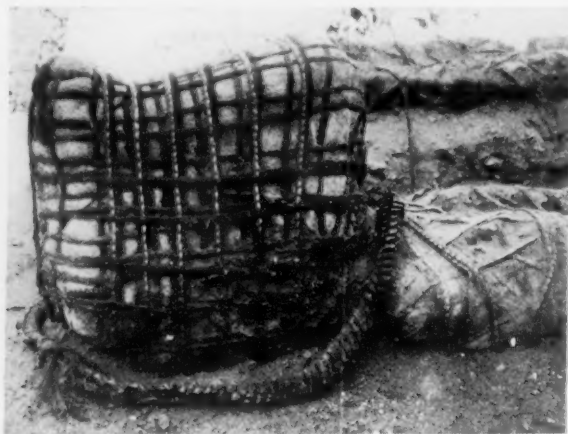


FIG. 37. PADDING AND TAPING ON THE FACE OF A BURIAL

lished occur in the Se'n-Wosret-'ankh chamber. Of these, 261 are selected from among the Utterances numbered 23 to 373 by Sethe in his edition of the Pyramid Texts—a majority of them appearing in the pyramid of King Unis; two Utterances only (nos. 677, 687) are taken from the later series, which is found exclusively in the pyramid of Pepy II. Pyramid Utterances 1 to 7 (Teti) and 8 and 9 (Pepi I, Meren-Rē', and Pepy II), which occur on the sarcophagi of the last four kings of the Saḫ-kāreh group, are naturally not found in our tomb, since no inscribed portion of the sarcophagus or coffin was recovered. Utterances 10 to 22, found only in the pyramid of Pepy II, are lacking. In general, the selec-

Thus, the texts on the north wall read from left to right (fig. 42), from the head end of the sarcophagus to the northeast corner of the chamber; while those on the south and east walls read from right to left, starting on the south wall, at the foot of the sarcophagus, and terminating at the north end of the east wall—again, the northeast corner of the chamber. The texts on the two jambs of the entrance way read in both cases from the outside in towards the chamber. Taken by wall surfaces, the sequence of the texts is as follows: north wall, west door jamb, east door jamb, south wall, and east wall.

The western half of the north wall of the chamber—the part of the wall nearest the head end of the sarcophagus—is occupied by the offering list and ritual (fig. 42). The

<sup>12</sup> The position in which the Middle Kingdom Egyptian was regularly buried.

<sup>9</sup> Columns 255–256, Utterance 274.

<sup>10</sup> Column 118, Utterance 677.

<sup>11</sup> Column 245, Utterance 271.



list is laid out in tabular form in ten horizontal registers and 141 vertical compartments, each compartment containing the ritual to be recited by the officiating priest in presenting a particular offering to the deceased and, below the ritual, in a "box" of its own, the name of the offering. The first seven registers, of thirty-six to forty columns each (corresponding to Unis, 1-165), occupy the whole of the wall space to the

varieties); 5, cosmetics (two varieties); 6, bandages; 7, stone and copper vessels and tables of offerings; 8, breads and cakes (twenty-five varieties); 9, meal and grains; 10, meats (seven external cuts, three internal organs—mostly of beef); 11, fowls (four varieties of geese, one pigeon); 12, beverages: beer (five varieties), wine (eight varie-



FIG. 38. A HISTORICAL INSCRIPTION

west of the entrance doorway and contain 117 offerings. The remaining three registers, of eight columns each (Pepy II, 503-526), are ranged over the western side of the doorway and include twenty-four additional offerings and their rituals. Separating the two groups there is a single column of inscription containing an all-inclusive offering formula. The complete list is clearly the result of an agglomerative process which took place during the Old Kingdom, and in the 141 offerings named there are thirty-two "repeats," leaving a series of 109 different offerings. These may be summarized under the following heads, the order of offerings being as given: 1, water; 2, the "Seven Sacred Oils"; 3, incense; 4, natron (four

ties), and milk; 13, fruits and/or nuts (six varieties); 14, summaries ("every sweet thing," "every green thing," "every offering").

The recitations which accompany the various offerings are of three general types: those not (to the modern reader, at least) especially associated in idea with the offerings which they precede; those clearly connected in thought with the offering; and, finally, the punning type—the most important single word in which (frequently a verb) has the same sound as, or a sound similar to, the name of the offering.

An example of the first type is the ritual to be recited when presenting an offering of



FIG. 39. A WIG AS FOUND IN ITS BOX

water (poured out into a basin)—the first offering on the list. It reads:

Osiris, seize him who hates Se'n-Wosret-'ankh and who speaks evilly against his name. Thôt, go and seize him for Osiris. Bring to thyself him who speaks evilly against the name of Se'n-Wosret-'ankh. Thrust him into thine hand. Do not let go of him. Beware of letting go of him. Beware of letting go of him. Beware of letting go of him. Beware of letting go of him.

The second type is illustrated by the last three sentences in the recitation to be said while a censer of burning incense is extended to the deceased. The phrase "Eye of Horus" stands here, as it frequently does, for the offering itself:

Osiris, Se'n-Wosret-'ankh, I have given to thee the Eye of Horus. Provide thy face with it. (Now) the scent of the Eye of Horus adheres to thee.

In our times the pun has fallen into ill repute. The rather childish play on words contained in the third type of offering speech may, therefore, strike the reader of the present day as both flippant and inappropriate to the solemn context in which it occurs. It is probably, however, the result of a perfectly serious effort on the part of the ancient Egyptian writer to create a bond between the offering presented and the otherwise more or less disassociated recitation to be made while presenting it.<sup>13</sup> The type is amusing enough to bear several illustrations. As he presents two baskets of *Ished* fruit the priest says: "Osiris, Se'n-Wosret-'ankh, take to thyself the Eye of Horus which he wrested (*shed*) from the hand of Seth." Offering two loaves of *sha't* bread, he recites: "Osiris, Se'n-Wosret-'ankh, take to thyself the Eye of Horus, and let it not be separated (*sha'*) from thee." Or again, with an offering of wine of *Hamu*: "Osiris, Se'n-Wosret-'ankh, take to thyself the Eye of Horus which he 'fished out'

(*ham*), that thy mouth may be opened with it."

Returning for a moment to the offerings themselves, we see that the thirteen categories listed may be grouped into three main classes. The first six categories include offerings to be used on the body of the deceased, presumably in preparing it for burial: water for washing, unguents for anointing, incense for perfuming, natron for embalming, cosmetics for adornment, and, finally, bandages for the wrappings.<sup>14</sup> Next comes the seventh group, the second class of offerings, consisting of the funerary furniture and table equipment of the tomb: the tables themselves and their complements of jars and bowls of white and black stone and copper. The third class is comprised of the food and drink offerings and is not only by far the most extensive list, but the one of most immediate interest to the modern student, as giving some insight into the variety and nature of the everyday fare of a well-to-do Egyptian of the early period. Bread was clearly the chief staple of the ancient, as it is of the modern, Egyptian, and is mentioned no less than thirty-nine times, twenty-five distinct kinds and shapes of loaves and cakes being named. Beef was apparently considered the edible meat par excellence and the meat list is largely taken up with the various cuts of beef: foreleg, ribs, roasts, breast, the liver, the spleen, etc. The fowls include four distinct breeds of geese, the only other item on the list being pigeon. Of the beverages beer, of which there are five favorite brews, is the most popular, being cited in all thirteen times; while wine comes next with ten listings and eight kinds; and milk, with less scope for variety, appears three times. The list ends with a series of food offerings belonging to the fruit and nut class, many of the names being as yet unidentified with any known fruit or nut. Figs are included, but both dates and grapes, popular in later lists, are curiously omitted.

No less interesting than the varieties of offerings are the places from which they are labeled as coming and the corollary fact

<sup>13</sup> Since almost every sign in ancient Egyptian writing is used both as an ideogram, to mean the object which it represents, and as a phonogram, to spell words which, though often quite different in meaning, have the same sound as the name of the object which the sign depicts, there is a very strong punning quality throughout the whole of the written language.

<sup>14</sup> Not quite the logical order in which the items would have been used, the application of natron presumably preceding the use of unguents and incense.



FIG. 40. THE BURIAL CHAMBER OF THE TOMB OF SE'N-WOSRET-'ANKH  
LOOKING WEST

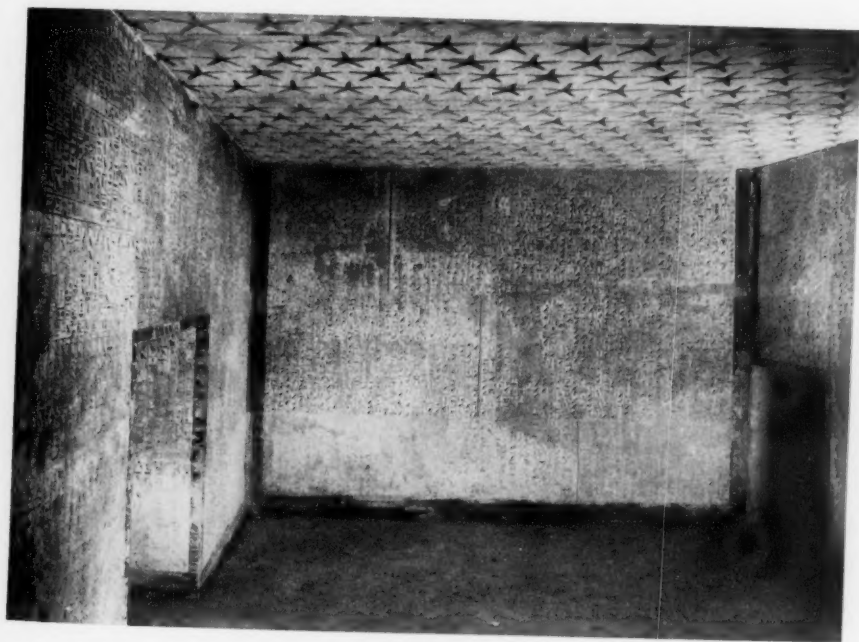


FIG. 41. THE BURIAL CHAMBER OF THE TOMB OF SE'N-WOSRET-'ANKH  
LOOKING EAST

that even as early as the Old Kingdom the wealthy Egyptian was not content to subsist on the produce of his own locality and did not hesitate to import table and other luxuries from considerable distances. Water is brought from Upper and Lower Egypt and the oasis of the Wādi 'n Natrūn. There is Upper Egyptian natron from el-Kāb, and Lower Egyptian natron from the Wādi 'n Natrūn. Balsam is imported from Syria and oil from Libya. Wine comes from Lower Egypt, from Buto and Hamu<sup>15</sup> in the western Delta, from Pelusium in the eastern Delta, and from Hebenu<sup>16</sup> in Middle Egypt.

Lest, even in this extensive list, some need of the deceased may have been overlooked, there is a covering statement written in a vertical column between the two parts of the offering table, as follows:

A ritual offering which Gēb gives to Se'n-Wosret-'ankh: Given to thee is every gift and every oblation, that which thou lovest and that by which it is well for thee with the God forever.

Following the offering list proper on the north wall there are ten columns of additional offering ritual, after which the main body of funerary, religious, and magical texts begins, taking up all of the remaining wall space of the inscribed portion of the chamber and the jambs of the entrance doorway.

The last column on the north wall (column 96) contains a rare text, found neither in the Pyramid Texts nor in the Book of the Dead, and appearing, so far as is known, only on three Middle Kingdom coffins.<sup>17</sup> The text reads:

Ho thou Se'n-Wosret-'ankh, raise thyself to the great ones who are thy companions, that thou mayest eat figs; that thou mayest swallow wine, thy face being as (that of) a jackal, like Anūbis,

<sup>15</sup> Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques*, vol. IV, p. 29.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 25.

<sup>17</sup> The outer coffin of Amen-em-hēt, from el-Bersheh, Cairo Museum no. 28092, lines 279-280, 419-420; the inner coffin of the same person, Cairo Museum no. 28091, lines 326-328; the coffin of Khenu, from Sakkāreh, Cairo Museum no. 39052, lines 208-213. I am indebted to Dr. de Buck of Leyden for supplying me with these parallels to our text.

equipped with the pointed claws which are on thy fingers and with the talons which are on the fingers of Thōt; that thou mayest consume the *semen* goose; that the two doors which are before the West, barring out common folk, may be opened to thee; that they who are in the Regions (of the Underworld) may come to thee; that they who are in the necropolis may take thy part; and that the foremost of the Dead may make purification for thee.

The door jambs resume the Pyramid Texts with Utterances 313 and following, the same speeches as those written in the doorways of the Old Kingdom pyramid chambers. It is here also that Utterance 677, found only in the last pyramid of the Sixth Dynasty series, occurs.

Beginning the inscriptions on the south wall are Utterances 213 and following; and towards the middle of this wall appears the almost pathetic denial of death in the oft-repeated singsong:

He lives, he lives, Se'n-Wosret-'ankh lives!

He is not dead, Se'n-Wosret-'ankh is not dead!

He has not perished, Se'n-Wosret-'ankh has not perished!

Etc.

The text (Utterance 247)<sup>18</sup> which occurs a little further on is interesting not only in itself, but also in the fact that the Se'n-Wosret-'ankh version emends and clears up a number of doubtful points found in previous writings of the Utterance. In this text, as in many, the deceased is identified with the god Osiris, the father of Horus. The translation follows:

Thy son Horus has acted in thy behalf.

The great ones tremble when they see the knife which is in thy hand when thou goest forth from Duat.

Homage to thee, Sai! Gēb begat thee. The gods gave birth to thee. Horus is satisfied on account of his father. Atūm is satisfied on account of his years. The gods of the East and West are satisfied on account of the great thing which has taken place in

<sup>18</sup> The text occurs also on one of the side walls of the chamber of Wosri, found during the past season near the maṣṭabah of Se'n-Wosret-'ankh.





FIG. 42. OFFERING LIST ON THE NORTH WALL OF THE BURIAL CHAMBER



the embrace of the children of the God.  
 Thou Se'n-Wosret-'ankh, Se'n-Wosret-'ankh, see! Thou Se'n-Wosret-'ankh, Se'n-Wosret-'ankh, look! Se'n-Wosret-'ankh, hear!  
 Thou Se'n-Wosret-'ankh, Se'n-Wosret-'ankh, be there! Thou Se'n-Wosret-'ankh, raise thyself on thy side! Command! Hate weakening sleep! Rise up in Nedyet!



FIG. 43. SCULPTURED CORRECTION

Make thy good bread in Pe! Be powerful in Heliopolis!

It is Horus who has ordered action for his father, lord of clouds, approaching his brother Seth. (He) raises thee. It is he who raises Atūm.

Continuing our inspection around the chamber, on the east wall we come upon one of the most striking passages in the Pyramid Texts, wherein the deceased through an orgy of cannibalism in which he insolently consumes both gods and men becomes endowed with their sundry powers. Containing an idea which is to be found in most of the known religions of the world, the description of this frankly materialistic and bar-

barous procedure concludes with the following words (Utterance 274):

Se'n-Wosret-'ankh has appeared again in glory in heaven, crowned as lord of the horizon. He has counted the vertebrae, he has seized the hearts of the gods. He has eaten the Red Crown, he has swallowed the Green Crown. Se'n-Wosret-'ankh is nourished on the organs of knowledge. He is satisfied living on hearts and their magic.

Se'n-Wosret is disgusted when he de-



FIG. 44. PAINTED CORRECTION

vours the foul secretions which are in the Red Crown; but he is refreshed, for their magic is in his belly. The body of Se'n-Wosret-'ankh is not taken from him, for he has swallowed the knowledge of every god!

Finally near the end of the east wall occurs what was to become one of the most popular<sup>19</sup> of the magical charms, the incantation against serpents and other creatures which the archaic Egyptian considered dangerous and malevolent (Utterance 226):

May the serpent be subdued by the ser-

<sup>19</sup> Occurring in the pyramid of Unis (300-305) and in the XII Dynasty in the chamber of Wosri at Lisht; on the coffin of the Major-Domo Akhtoy, also from near the South Pyramid at Lisht (texts unpublished); and on the coffins of Sit-Bastet and Kheper-ka-Rē' from Sakkāreh (Maspero, *Trois années de fouilles dans les tombeaux de Thèbes et de Memphis*, pp. 225, 236).

pent. May the calf which came forth from the garden be subdued. O Earth, swallow that which came forth from thee. O serpent, lie prone. May the pelican sink into the water. O serpent, turn back, for Rē sees thee.

whitewashed, and the hieroglyphs were painted blue over the whitewash (fig. 45).

The spacing of the inscriptions is on the whole fairly regular; but at intervals the writer found himself in difficulties, probably owing to discrepancies between the length



FIG. 45. PART OF THE TEXTS ON THE EAST JAMB OF THE ENTRANCE DOORWAY  
REDUCED TO ABOUT ONE FIFTH OF THE ORIGINAL SIZE

The columns of inscription average slightly less than five centimeters in width, the full-sized horizontal signs in the inscriptions four centimeters in length, and the full-sized vertical signs three and three-fourths centimeters in height. The signs were incised in silhouette, without interior details, the whole wall was subsequently

of the text required to occupy a given wall space, the scale chosen for the finished hieroglyphs, and the actual space available for the text. In the first five columns of inscription immediately to the east of the doorway on the north wall the hieroglyphs are greatly reduced in scale and atrociously crowded together, as many as three hori-

zontal signs being jammed end to end into one column's breadth—showing, if nothing else, that our scribe was a stickler for the exact positions in which his embarrassingly long texts were to be placed. Most of the instances of either crowding or spreading out of signs are due to the desire to bring the end of an Utterance even with the end of a column. Where the space was more than could be normally filled by the hieroglyphs actually required, these have been strung out one over the other to take up as much length as possible or, as in several cases, the last word of the Utterance has been given an exaggeratedly full spelling.

In a number of places errors were made by the sculptor in the original cutting of the inscriptions, and in these places the inscription has been recut over the old signs, the error having then been craftily hidden by the use of paint and whitewash (fig. 43). In many instances the corrections have simply been painted in—signs changed or inserted with blue paint (fig. 44). One example has been found where the painter intentionally omitted to color a sign cut by mistake by the sculptor. A few corrections have been made in black paint, or ink. There was, then, a careful collation of the texts with the original copy following their first laying-out and cutting. From the different paints appearing in the emendations it would seem that two persons in succession checked over the inscriptions. It is perhaps not too much to assume that three men worked to bring the inscriptions to their present state: a scribe, a draftsman (who was also the

painter), and the sculptor. The scribe would have furnished the draftsman with the manuscript copy of the texts; and the draftsman, after laying out the inscriptions, would have turned the job over to the sculptor and painted the signs following their carving, correcting from the manuscript errors made by his co-worker; and the final corrections would have been made in black ink by the scribe. On the other hand, it is quite possible that one or at most two men carried out the whole task. However it was accomplished, we may be reasonably sure that Se'n-Wosret-'ankh himself acted as general supervisor.

Notwithstanding the collations and recollations performed by these worthies a few obviously careless mistakes—principally omissions—occur in the texts, as a comparison of them with their Pyramid originals shows. It was with some amusement that the present-day copier of the inscriptions discovered that the ancient scribe had made the identical errors, in transferring the texts to the walls of the chamber, which he himself made in his first, uncollated copy of them. The most common sin committed by both copyists was the omission of one or more entire phrases because a phrase lower down, beginning with the same group of signs as its predecessors, lured the eye past the intervening passages, and caused it to skip them completely. In our modern copy a series of collations has done away with mistakes of this sort—or, at least, that is our impression.

WILLIAM C. HAYES, JR.

## THE PERSIAN EXPEDITION

The site for last year's work, Kāsr-i-Abu Naṣr, is a prominent crescent-shaped hill about four miles to the southeast of Shīrāz. Dominating the west horn of the crescent stands a black limestone door carved with

to the conclusion early in the century, and Stolze about 1880, that these stones were not in their original position but had been brought here from elsewhere, perhaps even from Persepolis thirty-five miles away.<sup>2</sup>



FIG. 1. BALUSTRADE FRAGMENTS

figures in the Persepolis style of Darius and Xerxes I (fig. 3). On the east horn are the remains of a small fortress, possibly of Sasanian origin, while between the two can be seen vague traces of dwelling houses (fig. 2). The standing Achaemenian doorway and its two now fallen companions have long interested travelers,<sup>1</sup> and many of the nineteenth-century accounts of journeys through Persia describe and discuss the remains, some of them giving drawings and views. Morier and Flandin and Coste came

This idea has been alternately upheld and denounced, but in its favor was the fact that the decorative lines on the jambs, as set up on the site, do not carry correctly into the architraves, the jambs being set up about ten inches too far apart. Stolze was, however, wrong in attributing our doors to the building of which one door still stands in the ravine north of the platform at Persepolis. The material of this is very different, being much grayer and streaked with white,

<sup>1</sup> Among others, Thévenot (1665), Niebuhr (1765), Ouseley (1811), Mme Dieulafoy (1881), and Curzon (1890).

<sup>2</sup> J. Morier, *Second Journey*, pp. 64-65; Flandin and Coste, *Voyage en Perse*, pp. 65-66, pl. 55; F. Stolze, *Persepolis*, vol. II, *Bemerkungen zu den Tafeln*, Persepolis, I.

and the dimensions in no way agree with ours. The carving, too, is of a quite different character.

Led on by the hope of finding the relief carvings which might have accompanied the doorways—the Fārs-nāma<sup>3</sup> shows a block with a procession of offering bearers and animals—we commenced our work on

stones, pieces of large fluted columns and broken Achaemenian niche tops with bead moldings and fluted cavettos. The buildings were, then, definitely later in date than the setting up of the black doors. In the débris of the courtyard below the level of the surrounding rooms we found fragments of other niche tops, a bull capital, and two

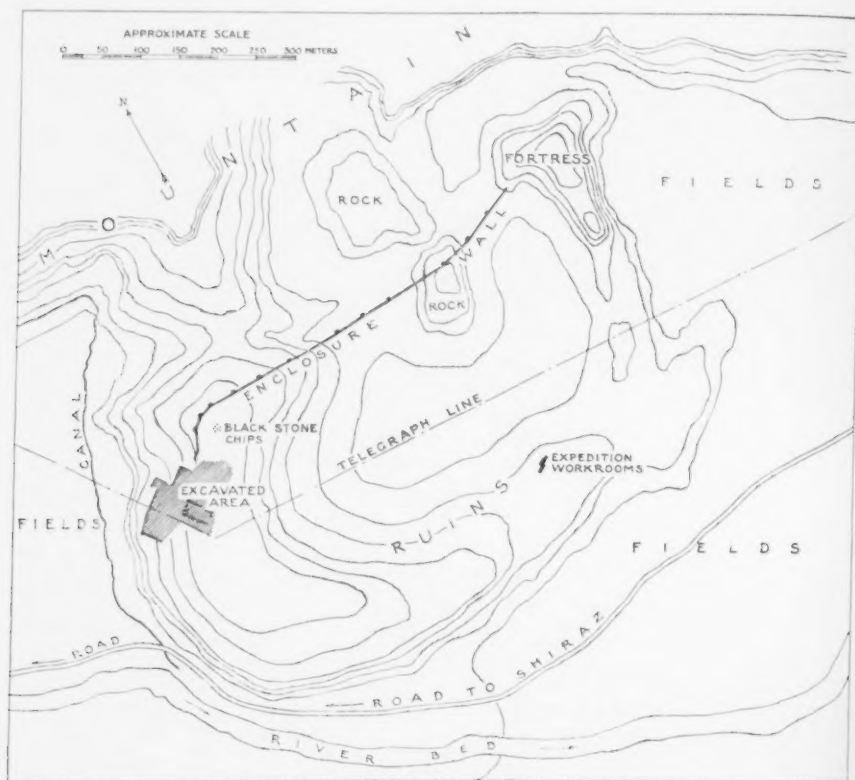


FIG. 2. SKETCH MAP OF THE SITE

this part of the site. It soon became evident that the doors were erected with no more foundations than a little earth and gravel spread for leveling purposes over the rough rock of the hilltop, that there were no traces of walls connecting them, and that the rubble-walled rooms which formed a courtyard about the doorways were not arranged axially on them (fig. 4) and contained as building material, among the crude field

<sup>3</sup> Hājji Mūsā Ḥasan, *Fārs-nāma-i-Nāṣiri*. Teheran, 1895/96.

pieces of a parapet decorated with conventionalized tree trunks and palmettes on one side (fig. 1) and soldiers with spears on the other, again in the Persepolis style. All these stones, together with the three doors, the two parapet blocks figured by Ouseley,<sup>4</sup> and the one shown in the Fārs-nāma, seem at first sight to be the remains of the ornamentation of an Achaemenian portico or hall, which had at least a central door at the

<sup>4</sup> Sir Wm. Ouseley, *Travels*, vol. II, pl. LV, nos. 4, 5.



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FIG. 3. THE RUINS BEFORE EXCAVATION



FIG. 4. THE COURTYARD AFTER EXCAVATION

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back, two flanking doors, and several niches, and which stood on a raised platform with a decorated stairway leading up to it.

Unfortunately a careful study of the stones only too certainly showed that the niche tops were not all of a size, that the door architraves varied from a size suitable to our standing doorway to one twice as wide, and that the columns were too large

had brought together a number of the elements of a building without too careful choice, had set up at least three doors, and had begun a hall which our work would indicate, from the absence of any walls, never went much further.

Heavy rain settling into our freshly dug ground made a slough of the work and drove us off the top of the hill down the northwest slope overlooking Shīrāz. There we came



FIG. 5. THE NORTHWEST ROOMS

for the capital. Two proved to be genuine doorways, but the northernmost, lying where it had fallen over, was found to be composed of two jambs, a lintel, and a threshold which when erect made the offering bearers carved on the inner surfaces of the frame face in opposite directions, an unprecedented arrangement, proving the jambs to be from the left sides of two different doors. The inevitable conclusion was that Flandin and Coste had been right. The black stones were not in position but had been brought from another site, perhaps from some as yet undiscovered building in the neighborhood. Someone intending to emulate the splendor of an earlier time

almost at once onto the great inclosure wall of the entire settlement, a rubble wall from two to four meters thick, which we eventually followed about a kilometer over the hill and down into the valley between the horns of the crescent to the fortress. Its west corner was a huge round tower, and at intervals where it descended into the low-lying land it was broken up by square towers or bastions, eight or ten meters apart. Small structures, as yet not dug out, backed against it on its inner face. Opposite the buildings encircling the doorways the wall opened out into two high terraces, leaving a view over the plain toward the city.

Eventually we cleared all the rooms

around the "Achaemenian" ruins and a large area to the north. The first resolved themselves into a series of small nichelike rooms, many of them probably covered with vaulted roofs and, in caravanseraï or mosque style, open to the court, in which the stone doorways were left standing as monuments. There is nothing strange in this, as Islamic peoples often venerate ancient objects and invest them with magic

teresting vaulted hall of stone set in plaster. This had aisles separated from the body of the hall by large rectangular piers. One end of it seems to have been open to the sky; the other had a central niche and very curious heating apparatus, or ovens, in the walls. Another room, as yet not clearly defined as to period, turned out to be octagonal with enormously thick walls to uphold a dome. The diagonal sides were short and had an



FIG. 6. LARGE GREEN JAR  
OF POROUS POTTERY



FIG. 7. PLASTER VENTILATOR  
OPENING

properties. This group was surrounded by a narrow wall with small decorative towers at the corners and along the unbroken west side. The entrance was through a well-constructed door on the north. The walls of these buildings showed at least three periods of construction or repair: an early one, rather fragmentary, in which the stones were held together by mud; a middle one with both plaster and mud mortar, to which most of the rooms belong; and a late one, which consists merely of repairs and unbonded additions.

To the north and northwest are numerous remains of building probably belonging to the first period (fig. 5), including a very in-

elaborate plaster decoration beginning with bases and plinths in debased classical moldings and culminating high up in frames formed of columns supporting a cornice, with dogtooth dentils, crowned by crenellations (fig. 7). These frames surrounded a grille. They were undoubtedly the openings of ventilating shafts after the manner of the wind towers so common today in Kerman and Yezd, which in the heat of summer trap the slightest breeze by an ingenious arrangement of vanes. The plasterwork is crude but interesting in its combination of Persian and classical forms. Unfortunately, in the last period, this area was cut through by a series of rectangular water basins and

channels, the nucleus, perhaps, of a hilltop Persian garden.

The rooms immediately around the doorways yielded an enormous quantity of pottery, glazed and unglazed, much of it referable to well-known examples of the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries from Sāmarrā, Fustāt, and Samarkand. The study of the broken pieces is not yet complete, but many of the unglazed wares show beautiful stamped relief decoration, while others of a porous clay have incised linear patterns such as were common in the ninth and tenth centuries. In one room in the lowest level two coins with Arabic inscriptions and the dates A.H. 14- and 161 (A.D. 757/67 and 777/78) were found, together with several fragments of porous pottery jars similar to a complete one discovered in an adjoining room. This is a fine, three-handled jar with a free and vigorous incised ornament around the shoulders and ribbing around the neck (fig. 6). Pots of this type have been dug up in Mesopotamia at Sāmarrā and therefore are to be dated between A.D. 838 and 883. The glazed pieces are to a large extent of the so-called T'ang types usually dated to the ninth and tenth centuries. From the rooms added later and near the surface over the whole area came much twelfth- and thirteenth-century dark blue-green glazed ware enriched with calligraphic black drawings, and along with this Mongol coins. That most of the pottery was not indigenous is fairly clear from the number of quite simple, inexpensive pieces repaired with rivets in ancient times.

Around the inclosure walls and more particularly near the large room with piers, a characteristic and hitherto unknown kind of pottery abounded. The vessels, of coarse, hard, green or pink clay, are very squat and squarish and are decorated only by a few simple lines about the necks or shoulders. This may easily have been the common local ware.

It would then seem from the absence of any pottery or other objects definitely earlier than the late eighth century (the date of the two coins) and the certainty that the Achaemenian stones are reused and not in position that the history of this part of our site must be reconstructed from purely

Islamic sources. From quite early times Persia had been restless under the government of the Caliphate, and in the ninth century it began splitting up into more or less independent sultanates, constantly in turmoil, of one of which Shīrāz was the center. It is probable that one of these rulers, impressed by the glories of Persepolis, thought to build himself a stronghold with a palace of similar magnificence, and set about collecting the materials from some ancient buildings. His death or overthrow prevented the completion of the scheme, and late in the ninth or in the tenth century a group of buildings grew up around his three (perhaps four) standing doorways, utilizing many of his other stones as building material. These structures grew, were modified, partially pulled down, and twice rebuilt after severe fires in the central area; and they fell into disuse only after the thirteenth century.

A town named Kurdu Fannāhusrū, mentioned by Muḳaddasi<sup>5</sup> as having been built by 'Adud ad-Daulah (A.D. 936-982) half a parasang to the east or southeast of Shīrāz and containing large palaces, houses, bazaars, shops for the weaving of fine stuffs, and a park on the edge of a brook, has not yet been definitely identified. It was the seat of an annual festival which according to Yākūt and Kaswīnī began in the year A.H. 354 on the twenty-first of Rabi' I (March 27, 965), possibly a spring festival like the modern Naurūz. At the time Muḳaddasi wrote (his book was published first in A.D. 985) the town was already falling into ruin. The position of Kasr-i-Abu Naṣr corresponds with the distance and direction given, and strangely enough the ruins were visited until quite recently by a numerous gathering from Shīrāz on feast days.

Next season we shall attack the problem of the fortress, inside the walls of which Sasanian coins, including one from the first reign of Kawādh I (A.D. 488-496), are said to have been found, and dig on the inner face of the crescent-shaped hill on which are numerous traces of dwellings, some of them, perhaps, older than Islām.

WALTER HAUSER.

<sup>5</sup> P. Schwartz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, vol. II, pp. 48-50.